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Aurangzeb receiving Dārā Shukoh's Head on a Charger.

Vol. II. Frontispiece.

INDIAN TEXTS SERIES

STORIA DO MOGOR

OR MOGUL INDIA

1653—1708

BY NICCOLAO MANUCCI

VENETIAN

TRANSLATED
WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY WILLIAM IRVINE

BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE (RETIRED)
MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

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gain time for finding out the reason of the embassy and the intentions of the ambassador in regard to the obeisances usual in India, he further ordered him to come in leisurely, so that the streets might be prepared through which the ambassador [34] was to pass; he was to bring him to a halt near the royal garden called Xalemas (Shālihmār),[1] distant three leagues from the city.

Aurangzeb despatched various nobles on the heels of Muḥammad Amīn Khān to meet the ambassador. But the latter would not so far state whether he would make the usual obeisances or not, and never disclosed the object of his mission. Aurangzeb insisted on knowing the object of the embassy, and whether the ambassador meant to make the obeisances usual in India. He feared that Shāh 'Abbās, supported by Mīr Jumlah, Khalīlullah Khān, Ja'far Khān, and many other officers, who were Persians, might attempt something in these early days of his (Aurangzeb's) reign. For there still lived several men ill-affected towards him, favourites of Shāhjahān, and he wanted to adopt precautionary measures, knowing by experience how much inclined the Persians are to treachery.

The ambassador halted near the garden referred to, and an official was sent from the court to Muḥammad Amīn Khān, instructing him to tell the ambassador that although ambassadors' letters were received only by the *wazīr*, still, as he was the ambassador of the King of Persia, to him would be conceded the favour that one of the princes, Aurangzeb's sons, should receive it. The ambassador seemed satisfied at this. Meanwhile, Aurangzeb gave orders for soldiers to be posted on both sides of the street, a league in length, through which the ambassador would pass. The principal streets were decorated with rich stuffs, both in the shops and at the windows, and the ambassador was brought through them, escorted by a number of officers, with music, drums, pipes, and trumpets. On his entering the fort, or royal palace, he was saluted by all the artillery.

Aurangzeb was seated on a throne in shape like a peacock—

[1] The garden of Shālihmār at Dihlī disappeared many years ago; it was near the village of Bādlī Sarāe. Bādlī is mentioned in the 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī' as the halting-place.

a marvellous piece of work made by King Shāhjahān—but he never had the good fortune to sit on it. Fearing that the ambassador might not wish to make the necessary obeisances, Aurangzeb caused four tall, muscular men to be posted near him with orders that, should he decline to follow the custom, they should by force make him bend his neck. The whole court was adorned with a thousand marvellous things.

The ambassador appeared within sight of the king, accompanied by all the nobles, and having arrived at the place where he had to make the *salām*, the nobles intimated that he had to fulfil his duty, for now was the time. Ignoring the lessons of 'Abdullah Beg and his own promise confirmed so many times, he made his *salām* in the Persian fashion by placing both hands on his breast. Whereupon the four strong men told off for this purpose came up; two took him [35] by the hands, and two by the neck, and without force or violence, as if they were teaching him, they lowered his hands and bent his head. They told him that thus it was the fashion to make obeisance in the Mogul country. Upon this the ambassador acted prudently, and allowed his whole body to bend without resisting, and performed his bow in the Indian manner.

At this moment Aurangzeb turned his face a little, as if speaking to his son, Sulṭān Mu'ẓẓam, nowadays known as Shāh 'Ālam, who, rising, came to the ambassador. The latter, without any token of grievance, with a smiling countenance, drew forth the letter, and having raised it to his head, made it over to the prince. The prince presented it to the king, who made a sign for its delivery to the eunuch Danex (Dānish), the head of the king's household. After the ambassador had put on a rich set of robes, the master of the ceremonies informed him that now was the time to produce the presents he had brought from Persia.

This present consisted of twenty-seven handsome, large, and powerful horses, each horse having two men to lead it by reins. Nine of these horses were decked out with precious stones, and saddles decorated with pearls. The others had housings of costly brocade reaching to their feet. There were eighteen large shaggy camels, taller than any in India or in Balkh,

clothed in lovely coverings; sixty cases of perfect rose-water, and twenty cases of another water, distilled from a flower which is only found in Persia, and is called *bedemus* (*bed-i-mushk*),[1]: it is a very comforting water against all fevers caused by heat; twelve carpets, fifteen cubits in length and five in breadth, very handsome and finely worked; four cases filled with brocade lengths, very rich, figured with pleasing flowers, and very costly; also four damascened short-swords, four poignards covered with precious stones; also a sealed box of gold, full of manna from the mountains of Shīrāz. Aurangzeb, with a lively expression on his face, spied out with curiosity all these presents of Shāh 'Abbās, and, meanwhile, directed Muḥammad Amīn Khān to put some friendly questions to the ambassador; then, rising, he sent word to him that he might retire, and if he came to court again he would be most welcome.

The ambassador came out in the company of several nobles, who conveyed him to the palace of 'Alī Mardān Khān (he who made over Qandahār to Shāhjahān), which had been prepared beforehand, and spread with carpets for the purpose. Aurangzeb also directed the nobles to invite and entertain the ambassador with pomp throughout his stay in the city of Dihlī at the cost of the royal treasury, taking each one day, as most convenient to themselves [36]. The wretched 'Abdullah Beg was expelled from court in disgrace, because the Persian ambassador had not made at once the required obeisance. The man died in a short time from grief. During this time there was much whispering at court and in the city about the force used to the ambassador in making him do obeisance in the Indian fashion, even if it was force politely applied. The Persians complained a great deal of this violence, imputing to Aurangzeb rashness, and saying the King of Persia would take vengeance for such an affront. Many rumours were current and in everyone's mouth, even those of the great nobles, as is the habit when any considerable event occurs in regard to foreign ambassadors.

Others said Shāh 'Abbās would never pardon the ambassador for having bowed his body in the presence of Aurangzeb, and

[1] *Bed-i-mushk*, Egyptian willow (*Salix sygostomon*), according to Steingass, 'Persian Dictionary,' 217.

that on his return to Persia his head would be cut off. Others declared that the King of Persia administered reproofs to Aurangzeb in the letter he had forwarded. He told him how the whole world was scandalized at the harsh deed he had done in cutting off the head of Dārā, his elder brother; and, furthermore, in spite of an oath confirmed on the Qurān that he would raise his brother, Murād Bakhsh, to the throne, he had, under pretext of law, caused him to be decapitated. Farther, leaving those things out of the question, he could not resist calling a man barbarous and inhuman who, in defiance of the laws of nature and the inexpugnable obligations due to parents, had seized the emperor Shāhjahān, his father. The latter had for many years concealed his son's bad qualities, hoping that age would ameliorate his judgment. But, through lapse of time, he came to know instead that he had a heart more ferocious than a tiger's, more barbarous than any animal's. Among them there were even some who taught men the right way to behave to their aged parents, as could be seen in books on natural history.

These and such-like things, rumour said, had been written by Shāh 'Abbās to Aurangzeb. Others declared that Shāh 'Abbās was very wroth that Aurangzeb, on his coin, had styled himself 'Conqueror of the World' (*i.e.*, 'Ālamgīr). But the truth is that no one knew what was entered in the letter, because Aurangzeb did not confide it even to his own *wazīr*, he being a Persian. On the whole, the above statements were the nearest to certainty. Thus, anyone who had no experience would wonder how Shāh 'Abbās could send along with such a terrible letter presents of such value. But anyone who reads history well knows that it was a great crime to appear before the kings of the Lacedemonians and of the Persians [with empty hands]. Hence the kings of Asia acquired the habit [37] of finding out, when a foreigner came to court, whether he brought presents or not; he who brought none was unable to obtain an audience.

After eight days the ambassador was invited by the *wazīr*, Ja'far Khān, and there a splendid banquet was given after the manner of India. In the four months and longer that he stayed at Dihlī, the ambassador would not accept any other

noble's invitation, except that of Muḥammad Amīn Khān. This was eight days before his leave-taking, when Muḥammad Amīn Khān entertained him most magnificently. Before every-one else he set down dishes and basins of silver, but the ambassador was served on gold alone. At the end of the meal, Muḥammad Amīn Khān caused all the services of silver and gold to be placed upon the table, and urgently entreated the ambassador to accept them as a present. But the ambassador, tendering his thanks, made excuses, and would accept nothing.

It was a striking thing, and I most particularly observed it, the difference between the people of India and the Persians. Putting them side by side, you could then recognise the difference both in attitude and features, in speech, in acts, in voice. Thus the Persians had the advantage over the Indians, and it was a fine sight to see the ambassador followed by his five hundred horsemen, almost all of the same height and appearance, large-limbed and handsome men, with huge moustaches, and riding excellent and well-equipped horses. Among them I knew one, a Muscovite, a slave of the Persian king, who came in the ambassador's train. Owing to the friendship we had had in Persia, he came several times to my house. Desirous of finding out something about the embassy, I asked him in a friendly way the favour of his telling me something about it; but, shrugging his shoulders and shutting his eyes, he gave me a sign that he could not speak.

At the end of four months and a half the ambassador was sent away honourably, and Aurangzeb made him a gift of two horses with trappings, of a poignard mounted with precious stones, a lovely emerald to wear in his turban, and a valuable set of robes. Last of all, a letter for Shāh 'Abbās was made over to him, and a small escritoire of gold covered with precious stones. This was closed and sealed up, and was to be made over to his king; no one knew what was in it [38].[1] The ambassador left the court, but at his departure there were no festivities equal to those at his arrival. At the time of the return journey, Aurangzeb wrote to Khalīlullah Khān at Lāhor

[1] The envoy's audience of leave-taking was on the 10th Ẕi Ḥijjah of the fourth year, 1071 H. (August 7, 1661) ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' p. 36, line 15).

that he must send men to every ferry to search the ambassador's packages, and strict measures were taken to prevent his taking any men of India to Persia. Aurangzeb acted thus because the Persians call the people of India slaves (so it was said), but the real reason is not known. The order of the king was carried out with such rigour that they took away all the slaves he had bought. Nor did it avail to hide them in boxes, for they were found and dragged out. Thus the ambassador went back to Persia affronted. But since kings know not how to forgive, Shāh 'Abbās took his revenge after some years when Aurangzeb sent to him an ambassador, as in its place I shall recount (II. 96).

Illness of Aurangzeb.

Some time after the departure of the ambassador, Aurangzeb fell ill of sudden fever, which was so severe that it caused delirium, and the doctors were unable to reduce the heat of the blood.[1] As a last remedy they decided to bleed him, as was done. But Aurangzeb being very restless on his bed, it happened that by the movements of his body the bandage came undone, and the blood began to flow. By the time the physician, called Aquim el Mulq (Ḥakīm-ul-Mulk),[2] had arrived much blood had already been lost; the physician, though in a great fright, tied the bandage anew.

Aurangzeb, owing to the great heat he was in, wanted to eat water-melons, and Ḥakīm-ul-Mulk incautiously gave him permission. Thus, through eating water-melons, he had a paralysis of the tongue, so that he very nearly lost his power of speech entirely, and the physicians were doubtful about his recovery.

Believing that there was no hope of her brother surviving, Roshan Ārā Begam took away the royal seal and wrote to many rajahs and generals on behalf of Sulṭān A'ẓam, then

[1] The illness began about the commencement of the fifth year, 3rd Shawwāl, 1072 (May 22, 1662). Aurangzeb was ill until the 10th Ẕi Ḥijjah, 1072 (July 27, 1662). On the 17th Ẕi Qa'dah (August 3, 1662) he bathed on recovery ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 41; Elphinstone, 538; Bernier, 123-126).

[2] Mīr Muḥammad Mahdī, Ardistāni, came with Aurangzeb from the Dakhin in 1068 H. (1658), was made a Hazāri, and soon obtained the title of Ḥakīm-ul-Mulk ('Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' i. 599).

nine years of age and actually living in the harem.[1] When the mother of Sulṭān Mu'aẓẓam learnt this, she said to Roshan Ārā Begam that what she was doing was not right, thus to rouse the empire, setting on foot in it confusion and disquiet [39], while the king was still alive and there was hope of his recovery. Having said this, she proceeded to the king's bedside, but Roshan Ārā Begam boldly seized her by the hair and ejected her from the royal chamber. The queen, not to afflict her suffering husband, bore it quietly and patiently.

Meanwhile, it was terrible to see the city of Dihlī in such confusion. Rumours were current that the king was already dead; wherefore everyone made preparations for doing what best suited his own affairs. Others said that though the king was alive, there was no hope of his recovery, that Rajah Jaswant Singh was coming from Gujarāt to free Shāhjahān from prison, and that Mahābat Khān would surely come for the same purpose. I leave the reader to imagine what confusion there must have been in a city the capital of a kingdom which had been accustomed to recognise as king none but the one who, after the defeat of all others, came out sole victor.

Roshan Ārā Begam was the causer of all this uproar. She allowed no one to see the sick Aurangzeb, except one eunuch belonging to her faction. But Sulṭān Mu'aẓẓam, who was sixteen years of age[2] and lived outside the fort, in the mansion of Prince Dārā, was afraid that his father was already dead, and that Roshan Ārā Begam did not want the news to spread until she had persuaded the Hindū princes to support Prince A'ẓam Tārā. Since it was clear that she favoured this little prince, and was inimical to Sulṭān Mu'aẓẓam, the latter resolved to make use of Jai Singh. Therefore, disguising himself, he went one night to this rajah, and, presenting to him some jewels of great price, prayed him earnestly to take his part on this occasion. His father was already dead. He then made a movement as if to fall at the rajah's feet; but the latter, taking

[1] As Sulṭān A'ẓam was born on the 12th Sha'bān, 1063 H. (July 9, 1653), in May, 1662, he had nearly completed his ninth year. He was the third son.

[2] Sulṭān Mu'aẓẓam was born on the 30th Rajab, 1053 H. (October 14, 1643). Thus, in May, 1662, he was nearly nineteen years of age.

him in his arms, raised him. After lengthy discourse, wherein he set forth the particular esteem he had for the prince and the singular desire he cherished to be of service to him in this juncture, he inquired if he knew for a certainty that the king, his father, was dead.

The prince replied that it could be assumed this was so, since Roshan Ārā Begam would not allow anyone to go into the royal harem, nor anyone to come out, who could give word of the life or death of the king. In spite of all he had done to ascertain the truth, no one could find out if [40] Aurangzeb was alive or dead. Upon this the rajah asked him to take some repose, for in a few hours he would know the condition of the king. With this object he wrote a short note to one of Roshan Ārā Begam's eunuchs saying he offered him two hundred thousand rupees on condition of his sending him a clear statement whether the king was alive or dead. He forwarded this note by one of his own trusted eunuchs. The eunuch of Roshan Ārā Begam replied by another note stating that the king was still alive.

On perusing this answer, Jai Singh said to the prince that the king, his father, not being yet dead, he could therefore return to his house and retire to rest, and this was the best thing for him to do. The prince trusted in the affection shown him by the rajah; and he asked him if it was advisable to go to Āgrah and fall at his grandfather's feet, to get him on his side when the death of his father, Aurangzeb, should come to pass. Rajah Jai Singh, who saw plainly that if Shāhjahān got out of prison a great many must lose their lives, answered in the negative. It were better to dissemble till the death of the king, and if God so willed it he would certainly get the news early. He swore to him upon his gods that on the king's death he would be with him at once at the head of thirty thousand Rājpūts, and would adopt his cause. Sulṭān Mu'aẕẕam felt consoled by this promise, and relying upon the rajah's oaths, went back to his palace.

Finding there was little hope of recovery, Aurangzeb sent for his faithful eunuch, Dānish, and warmly recommended to him Sulṭān A'ẕam. If he should die, he ordered him to hand over

the said prince to Shāistah Khān, who, being a Persian, would see that this small boy was protected, and would defend him from the insults he might have to suffer. For Sulṭān Mu'aẓẓam was already grown up, while the mother of that prince and powerful captains were also of his party. He said nothing about Prince Akbar,[1] brother of Sulṭān A'ẓam, he being of tender years, not more than three years old.

THE CHILDREN OF AURANGZEB [41].

Be it known to the reader that at this time Aurangzeb had four sons and four daughters. The sons were Sulṭān Muḥammad, of whom I have already spoken (I. 237), at this time a prisoner, and Sulṭān Mu'aẓẓam, the second. These were the sons of one mother, a Rājpūt by race, who offered sacrifice to idols that Sulṭān Mu'aẓẓam, her son, might be king, seeing that the eldest was a captive.[2] She had a daughter called Zebetnixa Begam (Zeb-un-nissā Begam)—that is to say, 'Light of Women'—and she died in the year one thousand six hundred and eighty-one, on September 1.[3] The other sons were Sulṭān A'ẓam and Sulṭān Akbar, who were sons of another mother, a Persian by race, the daughter of Xanavascan (Shāh Nawāz Khān), of whom I have already spoken (I. 225).[4] This queen had two daughters called Zinethnexa Begom (Zīnat-un-nissā Begam)—

[1] Sulṭān Akbar was born on the 12th Ẕu,l Ḥijjah, 1067 H. (September 22, 1657). Thus, in May, 1662, he was in his fifth year. Bernier is more wrong here than Manucci.

[2] The mother of Sulṭān Muḥammad, Sulṭān Mu'aẓẓam (Shāh 'Ālam), and Badr-un-nissā, was Nawāb Bāe, daughter of the Rajah of Rājaurī in Kashmīr. She died at Dihlī in 1690 ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 343, 533, and Khushḥāl Chand, 'Nādir-uz-zamānī,' British Museum MS., Oriental, 3288, fol, 227*a*). Badr-un-nissā died on the 27th Ẕu,l Qa'dah, 1080 H. (April 18, 1670).

[3] According to the 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 533, Zeb-un-nissā Begam died in 1113 H. (1701-02). This does not agree with Manucci, nor did any daughter of Aurangzeb die in 1681 (1092 H.). Begam Ṣāḥib, Aurangzeb's sister, died in that year (1092), and perhaps N. M. here confuses the two events.

[4] Dilras Bāno Begam was a daughter of Shāh Nawāz Khān (Badī'-uz-zamān), Ṣafawi, known as Mirza Dakhini. She died in 1067 H. (1656-57) at Aurangābād. Her children were A'ẓam Shāh (born July 9, 1653) and Zabdat-un-nissā (born September 7, 1651). The mother of Zeb un-nissā, Zīnat-un-nissā, and of Akbar, is styled simply 'Begam,' and this may possibly mean Dilras Bāno.

that is to say, 'Riches of Women'—and the other called Bederexa Begom (Badr-un-nissā Begam)—that is to say, 'Moon of Women.' These princesses forced their father to get them husbands, in opposition to the precedent handed down by King Akbar to the Mogul kings not to give their daughters in marriage. As Aurangzeb was unwilling to break this rule, they told him that the Mogul kings were not greater than the great Muḥammad, who gave his daughter in marriage to 'Alī. Thus Aurangzeb, overcome by their importunity, and worried by an old man named Miyān Jānī, who passed as a saint, and every Friday when the king went to the mosque, said to him nothing beyond these words: 'Marry your daughters, and let them follow the example of Muḥammad's daughter.' They were married in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy, one to the son of Dārā, the other to the son of Murād Bakhsh, and up to this day they live with their husbands in the fortress of Salīmgaṛh. The fourth daughter's name was Facronexa Begom (Fakhr-un-nissā Begam)—that is to say, 'Grandeur of Women,' who was [42] the child of another particular wife. She did not wish to marry, and she will give us occasion to speak of her farther on.[1]

When the news of Aurangzeb's severe illness reached Āgrah, the eunuch I'tibār Khān was thrown into great perplexity, chiefly because he heard that Rajah Jaswant Singh and Mahābat Khān were coming to deliver Shāhjahān. The eunuch called to mind the harshness he had used to Shāhjahān, and looked upon himself as lost, and saw facing him a sad and dishonoured death. He therefore provided poison to kill himself when any change happened. It was for this reason that he sent off daily many couriers to find out news as to the life or death of Aurangzeb. At this time the common people spoke bitterly against I'tibār Khān, and said that now had come the time for him

[1] According to the 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 120, 125, 540, these marriages took place as follows: In the fifteenth year, 16th Sha'bān, 1082 H. (December 18, 1671), Ezad Bakhsh, son of Murād Bakhsh, was married to the fifth daughter, Mihr-un-nissā (died April 1, 1706), and in the sixteenth year, 21st Shawwāl, 1083 H. (February 10, 1673), Sipihr Shukoh, son of Dārā Shukoh, was married to Zubdat-un-nissā, the fourth daughter (died 1707). Apartments were prepared for them in Salīmgaṛh. No such name as Fakhr-un-nissā is on record.

to be paid out for his barbarities. Aurangzeb, although still ill, knew the importance of proving he was alive and in his senses; therefore he never abandoned the passing and issuing of orders intended to take effect throughout the kingdom. Above all, he sent to I'tibār Khān injunctions to take good care of the king, his prisoner. Needing to seal his letters, he called for the great seal, which was kept in a bag sealed with the small seal worn by the king on his finger. After a search for the seal, it could not be found; he asked Roshan Ārā Begam where his signet ring was. The princess replied that one day when he swooned it fell off his finger, when she had taken charge of it, keeping it beneath her pillow. He sealed the letter and gave it back to her, concealing his suspicion and waiting till he was thoroughly restored to make inquiries into the affair, and find out how they had removed the ring. Aurangzeb did not content himself with the mere recording and issuing of orders, but to prove to the populace that he lived, he caused himself to be carried into a hall full of many nobles and great men, where he showed himself in person. But in withdrawing he hurt himself, the result lasting a long time, and greater trouble than before was caused, for everybody supposed that now he must die.

[NOTE.—Here are interpolated thirty-nine pages of a French version of the preceding Portuguese text and then three blank pages. I have compared this French version, and it is nothing more than a translation of the Portuguese text.]

[40 *bis*]. Having rested for some days, and finding himself a little better, Aurangzeb sent for Ja'far Khān, Multafat Khān, Muḥammad Amīn Khān, and Rajah Jai Singh, to disabuse them of the then prevailing fear that he was dead. By degrees he recovered his strength, but with great difficulty, it taking him a long time to get well. Even after he was sound again he remained a little defective in speech, and up to this day he speaks deliberately. Having now been restored to perfect health, he obtained from the eunuchs accounts of all that Roshan Ārā Begam had done during his illness. He was much annoyed at her having written letters to the viceroys, governors, and generals, in order to gain them over to serve Sulṭān A'ẓam, and at her having sealed them

with the royal seal. Above all, he was much affected by her unmannerliness to the mother of Sulṭān Mu'aẓẓam, and by the patience with which that queen endured the insolence of the princess. For these reasons he thenceforth thought more of the queen, increased her rank, and conferred on her the title of Nabab Balgi (Nawāb Bāī Jī)—that is to say, 'Greatest among Women'—and felt more affection for Sulṭān Mu'aẓẓam, to whom he gave the title of Xaalam (Shāh 'Ālam)—that is to say, 'King of the World.' Roshan Ārā Begam lost much of the love that Aurangzeb had borne her, he being now angered at her behaviour.

Aurangzeb remits Tribute.

When other Mogul kings fell ill, there always arose some trouble with the viceroys and governors, but during Aurangzeb's illness there was no such rising. For, in spite of rumours becoming current that the king was dead, the nobles put no trust in them, fearing that Aurangzeb himself, out of policy, and in order to discover which way each of them was inclined, had set these stories in motion. They knew before this that he was a very acute manœuvrer, and he benefited now by being so considered. Otherwise there might have happened some great disaster or rebellion in the kingdom, the liberty of Shāhjahān being dependent on Aurangzeb's death and the coronation of another king. Thus it is with trickishness; more often the deceivers suffer, but sometimes the habit is of profit to them [41 *bis*].

Aurangzeb now found himself restored to perfect health, with the exception of his tongue. This might be called a proof that the illness was a warning sent by God to make him kind to His people. It was as if an angel had come from heaven to speak with him. He now began to announce to those who came to give him congratulations on his restoration to health, that God had first sent this illness and then given him back his health to let him see that, although He had raised him to authority, He could take away his life whenever He pleased, or give him health at will. Through this illness he had come to the knowledge that the followers of Muḥammad were the beloved

of God. He held it as certain that this illness fell upon him, so that at the beginning of his reign he should not demand the same great revenues that his predecessors had imposed upon Mahomedans. This is the reason why he decided to relieve true believers from the payment of revenue, and by this incentive open a door for all Hindūs to embrace the faith of the prophet Muḥammad, the beloved of God. To this intent he sent forth an order to all the kingdoms, provinces and cities, that the Mahomedans were freed from taxation and under no obligation to pay anything to the crown, except the duty on tobacco, which he afterwards remitted owing to a case which happened, as I shall relate (II. 133).

He also said that the other cause of his illness was the collection of taxes from pagodas, which are (be it said with due respect and without offence to our Christian religion) churches to which the Hindūs resort to pray in front of some idol or other. For, every pagoda paid to the king every year a considerable sum. It was very undesirable, he said, to levy such a tax, for thereby it looked as if he approved of idolatry. He therefore directed that such a tax should never more be collected. It should suffice for every Hindū to pay five per cent. Afterwards he repented of such liberality, and, indeed, he wished some years afterwards to rescind what he had done; but for the sake of his credit, and also through his hypocrisy, he was prevented from carrying out this change. Therefore he invented a new device for getting money. He continuously reduced the pay of his generals and officers, and ordained [42 *bis*] that the *rupees* or coined money of silver, not worth more than fourteen *sols* (*sous*) of France, or thereabouts, should pass as worth twenty-eight *sols*.[1] In carrying out this matter Aurangzeb did a thing which forms a lesson to princes as to the mode of making themselves obeyed. For the *ṣarrāfs*, who are the money-changers, resisted the royal orders, giving various excuses for disobedience, in spite of their being sent for several times by the king to explain that reasons of state required the alteration. Nevertheless, these men, always contumacious, ignored the order until the

[1] If, as stated in Part III., 51, 30 *sols* went to the rupee (16 annas), then 1 *sol* = $\frac{8}{15}$ of an anna, and 14 *sols* amounted to $7\frac{7}{15}$ annas.

king in anger sent for all the money-changers in the city of Dihlī. Taking his place on his royal seat upon a bastion [of the palace], when the *ṣarrāfs* arrived he sent them word, quite quietly, that their resistance must come to an end and the rupee must be passed at twice its former value. The *ṣarrāfs* were firm in their contention, and replied that they could not comply, as the loss caused would be beyond calculation. Aurangzeb, quite quietly, and without any movement of his body, issued an order to throw down from the bastion one of the oldest of the *ṣarrāfs*. Upon the carrying out of this order, the rest, terrorized, said they would obey; and never another word was heard on the subject. Until this time rupees are worth double what they were in the days of Shāhjahān, and thus the people obtained relief.

The Dutch Ambassador.

About the time when Aurangzeb recovered his health there arrived at Dihlī an ambassador from the Dutch called Adrian[1] to offer congratulations on the king's accession. This man was of sound judgment, and thoroughly acquainted with the Mogul customs, having been for a long time at the head of the Dutch factory at Sūrat. Since he knew that those who bring the largest present and the heaviest purse are the most acceptable, the best received, and the soonest attended to, he brought a present for the king. It consisted in a large quantity of very fine scarlet broadcloth, much fine green cloth, some large mirrors, many earthenware dishes, bric-à-brac from China and Japan, and a small throne in appearance like a litter (*cherolla*), a piece of Japanese work with many pleasing paintings. For the ministers there was a large sum in gold and silver, with different kinds of cloth and other bric-à-brac. As soon as he arrived he began [43] to set forth to the ministers what he

[1] 'Vies des Gouverneurs-Généraux,' by J. P. I. Dubois (4to., La Haye, 1763), p. 208. The Governor of Batavia sent, in 1662, Mr. Dirk van Adrichem, Director of Sūrat, as ambassador to Aurangzeb. A *farmān* was obtained favourable to their commerce in Bengal, Orissa, and Patnah (see Bernier, 127, and note; Valentyn, 'Oud en Nieuw Ost Indien,' iv. 261). The *farmān* was dated October 29, 1662: Aurangzeb bathed on recovery, August 3, 1662.

desired. Thus in a few days leave was granted to him to be presented to the king, on condition of making obeisance first in the European, and then in the Indian manner.

Thus, on entering the court and reaching the royal presence he did as he had promised. Aurangzeb was interested at seeing the European fashion in dress and their way of bowing. Coming to meet them, Morturacan (Murtaẓā Khān)[1] took the letter from the hands of the ambassador and presented it to the secretary (*i.e.*, the *wazīr*). The master of the ceremonies, with his gold cane in his hand, took the ambassador's hand, and placed him in a fairly honourable place along with the five persons who accompanied him. This was a favour accorded to them. For it is not usual for more than one man to enter with an ambassador into the royal presence. Then they were invested with a *sarāpā* (set of robes) of brocade.

Next Aurangzeb ordered the present to be brought, and above everything else he prized the throne, and, as it was ornamented, he had it covered with glass to preserve the pictures from the great dust, and until this day he makes use of it. Then he sent to say to the ambassador that he might withdraw, and he would soon receive his leave to depart. But the ambassador knew the vain-gloriousness of the Moguls, who hold it a point of honour to keep ambassadors dancing attendance upon them. They like to have a foreign ambassador always attending at the court audiences. For this reason he sent more gifts to the ministers, and succeeded in obtaining leave to go after four months.

The letter that the ambassador brought for the Mogul stated that the Dutch Company expended in the Mogul realm large sums of gold and silver, besides importing a large quantity of spices, also copper and lead. But they were delighted to incur such expense in the territories of so just a monarch. As a token of gratitude for his justice, the Dutch Company, masters of the seas, offered to his majesty the use of their ships and fleets, and all that they held in India, being many fortresses, lands, and

[1] This is probably the Bukhārā Sayyid with that title whose biography is given in 'Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' iii. 597. He was head of the *Chaukī*, or palace guards, and died in 1088 H. (1677-78).

islands.[1] The ambassador on his taking leave received a second *sarāpā*, and in addition he was entrusted with a rich *sarāpā* for delivery to the general of Batavia, a poignard covered with precious stones, and a letter in most friendly terms [44].

Aurangzeb attempts to make Shāhjahān die of Disgust.

Although Aurangzeb's illness was at a height for only a few days, it took him a long time to become convalescent and to recover his strength. The medical men recommended a change of air by a visit to the province of Kashmīr. Aurangzeb was quite willing to take the change of air, but the existence of Shāhjahān was like a thorn piercing his heart, hindering him from resting or taking the recreation demanded by nature. Therefore he now displayed no increase of gentleness to his father; on the contrary, he decided to aggravate the old man more and more. Of a truth, this was never the inspiration of the angel during his illness nor the teaching of God, but was arrived at from the perversity of his own nature. In order to bring his father's life quickly to an end, he sent orders to make his imprisonment more severe. He ordered the bricking up of a window looking towards the river, where Shāhjahān sat for recreation. A company of musketeers was posted below the Āgrah Palace with orders by firing to disturb the old man, and to shoot him if he appeared at the window. In addition to this, to increase his despondency, the greater part of the accumulation of gold and silver money was carried away,[2] making as much noise as possible, so that he (Shāhjahān) might hear and be dejected in his mind. But Shāhjahan, too, played a game of finesse, and made out he saw nothing; responding to the cries, noise, and musket-shots by music, dancing, and

[1] Dubois (*loc. cit.*) says that a year afterwards (1663), Aurangzeb asked for two vessels with the idea of a campaign against Arracan. But he managed to win over the Portuguese pirates of Arracan, and employed them instead. In the end both Dutch and Portuguese were his dupes.

[2] 'On the 1st Rajab of the fourth year (1072 H.) Fāẓil Khān arrived from Akbarābād, and displayed to the Emperor a portion of the jewels and jewelled vessels sent by His Majesty Shāhjahān' ('M.-i-'Ā.,' p. 38). The date is equivalent to February 20, 1662.

entertainments, and carried on a joyous life with his wives and women. I'tibār Khān, who knew everything that went on in the palace, wrote it all to the court, so that Aurangzeb decided to take Shāhjahān's life by poison.

Aurangzeb orders Poison for Shāhjahān.

It was for this reason that he sent poison and a letter to Mocorrom can (Mukarram Khān),[1] the physician of Shāhjahān, a man who had refused to take the side of Aurangzeb when he arrived at Āgrah to make his father a prisoner. In this letter it was written that if the physician desired to live a little longer and be left in peace, he must administer to Shāhjahān the potion which would be made over to him by the eunuch Fahīm, who had been sent for this purpose. If he did not obey, it would cost him his life. Mukarram Khān received the drug, and answered that he would do better than what his majesty required of him. The eunuch Fahīm went back [45] with this answer. Mukarram Khān came to the conclusion that it was not right for him to murder King Shāhjahān, seeing how he had been raised by him from a humble station to this greatness, with such wealth and the respect and veneration of everybody. Above all, had not Shāhjahān confided his royal person into his hands? Besides this, he perceived clearly that, should he give the poison to Shāhjahān, Aurangzeb would never spare his life—experience had taught him that much. He therefore resolved to die honourably, and, swallowing the poison, was thrown into a lethargy, and in half an hour he died in his sleep. Aurangzeb awaited the hoped-for news of his father's death; but he learnt that Shāhjahān had been more respected by one who had only received some of his favours than by one who had received life from him. Nor, after all, was this lesson sufficient to make an entrance into the heart of Aurangzeb, who perversely sought some other means of procuring his father's death before his own departure to Kashmīr.

[1] Mukarram (Taqarrub ?) Khān, a Persian physician, has been named before (see I. 199). As already stated, he died in the second half of 1662.

Aurangzeb goes to Kashmīr.

But already the hot season was near, and it was necessary to start for Kashmīr before the sun's rays had increased in the land of Hindūstān. In this he followed the advice of the doctors, and, above all, of Roshan Ārā Begam, who longed very much to get rid of the hindrances of the harem and be able to indulge her libidinous propensities; furthermore, she wished to appear in the camp with more state than that used by Begam Ṣāḥib in the time of Shāhjahān. Having decided to go to Kashmīr, Aurangzeb selected his most faithful adherents, in whom he had much confidence, and deputed as governor of the city of Āgrah one Osdarcan (Hoshdār Khān),[1] and as general of the camp Murtaẓā Khān. He gave fresh injunctions to I'tibār Khān, the eunuch, to take great care of Shāhjahān. Since Shāh Shujā' had died in Arracan, as I stated in the other book (I. 247), the king sent an order, before his departure, to Mīr Jumlah, directing him to conquer Axame (Assam).

Thus Aurangzeb started from the city of Dihlī on the 6th December of one thousand six hundred and sixty [? 1662] at three o'clock in the afternoon, the joint decision [46] of the astrologers being that this was the best date that could be found for the king to start on a long journey, which must last at least a year, or even more, in going, coming, and staying.

It is a strange thing how Monsieur Bernier says in his third book that this departure took place in sixty-four (1664); for it is a certainty that it happened at the time that I have recorded. Nor can I persuade myself how he committed so great an error, and suppose it due rather to the printer than the author, although he says in his history many other things far from the truth.[2]

[1] Mīr Hoshdār, entitled Hoshdār Khān, was the son of Multafat Khān (A'ẓam Khān, ''Ālamgīrī'). In the fifth year he was made 4,000, 3,000 horse, and appointed Governor of Dihlī. In the sixth year he was transferred to Āgrah on the death of Islām Khān. In the seventh year the *faujdārī* of the Āgrah environs was added. He was long Governor of Āgrah. In the fourteenth year he became Governor of Khāndesh, and early in the fifteenth year, 1082 H. (1672), he died.

[2] 'But I sympathize with him, for he was ever on duty in the house of his Persian doctor, Dānishmand Khān, and he more often encountered fraud and falsity than the truth. I frequently warned him not to accept what the common

There were rumours that Aurangzeb's departure was not for Kashmīr, but on a campaign against the fortress of Qandahār, then held by this King of Persia. But this story was false. The king, on leaving the city, rested for the night in an extensive garden called Xalemar (Shalihmār), planted by Shāhjahān as a pleasure resort; it lies three leagues distant from the royal palace, adjoining the road to Lāhor. Here Aurangzeb halted six days to give time for everyone to make his preparations, and when everybody had joined the army he meant to begin his march. It is the custom in the Mogul country when an army is in the field to order a trumpet to be blown at nine o'clock at night as a signal that there will be no march on the following morning.

On the sixth evening there was no trumpet, and the advance tents were sent on. With regard to this you must know that in the Mogul kingdom the king and many of the nobles march with two sets of tents, so that while the one set is in use the other may be sent on for the next day. To carry the royal tents there were set aside two hundred camels and fifty elephants, which were used for this purpose only.

On the seventh day at three o'clock in the morning the march began. First went the heavy artillery, which always marches in front, and is drawn up as an avenue through which to enter the next camp. With it went a handsome boat upon a large car to ferry the royal person across any river when necessary. Then followed the baggage. In this way, when the morning broke, the camp was free, leaving only the cavalry and infantry, each in its appropriate position. With the rest, in addition to the other transport, went two hundred camels,

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people said, and, being myself specially informed, I gave him the true events' (Venice Codex). The Venice Codex, fol. 179, has '1661'. Considering Manucci's own erroneous chronology, this reproof of Bernier is rather bold. Bernier, 350, says the start was on December 3 at three o'clock; he gives no year, but the letter is dated December 14, 1664, leading to the obvious inference that he means December, 1664. Elphinstone, 538, gives 1662, December 6. The 'Ālamgīrnāmah,' 763, and, following it, the 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 42, fix the actual start for the 7th Jamādā I., 1073 H. (fifth year), equivalent to December 18, 1662, N.S., or December 8, 1662, O.S. I have here compared six folios of the Venice Codex (fols. 178-186) with the Berlin text.

loaded with silver rupees, and each camel carrying four hundred and eighty pounds' weight of silver; one hundred camels loaded with gold coin, each carrying the same weight; one hundred and fifty[1] camels [47] loaded with nets used in hunting tigers, of which mode of hunting I have already spoken (I. 128).

The royal office of record also was there, for the original records[2] always accompany the court, and this required eighty camels, thirty elephants, and twenty carts, loaded with the registers and papers of account of the empire. In addition to these there were fifty camels carrying water, each camel bearing two full metal vessels for the royal use. The princes of the blood-royal marched in the same fashion, each according to his rank. Attending on the king are eight mules carrying small tents, which are used on the march when the king desires to rest, or to eat a little something, or for any particular necessity. Along with them are two mules carrying clothes, and one mule loaded with essences of various odoriferous flowers.

It is the custom of the court, when the king is to march the next day, that at ten o'clock of the night the royal kitchen should start. It consists of fifty camels loaded with supplies, and fifty well-fed cows to give milk. Also there are sent dainties in charge of cooks, from each one of whom the preparation of only one dish is required. For this department there is an official of standing, whose business it is to send in the dishes sealed up in bags of Malacca velvet, *etcetera;* and two hundred *culles* (*qulīs*), each one with his basket of chinaware and other articles; further, there are fifty camels carrying one hundred cases packed with *sarāpā* (robes of honour): also thirty elephants loaded with special arms and jewels to be distributed among the generals, captains, *etcetera*. These arms are of the following kinds: swords, with their accoutrements; shields; various kinds of daggers, all worked in enamel and in gold, adorned with different precious stones; plumes; also things to give to ladies, jewels to wear on the breast and other varieties; also

[1] Two hundred and fifty (Venice Codex, fol. 180).

[2] In the Venice Codex, 180, the earlier composition, the contrary is stated—that the originals are left, and only copies and extracts taken.

armlets of gold, mounted with pearls and diamonds. Again, there marched close to the baggage one thousand labourers, with axes, mattocks, spades, and pick-axes to clear any difficult passage. Their commanders ride on horseback carrying in their hands their badges of office, which are either an axe or a mattock in silver. On arriving at the place appointed for the royal halt, they put up the tents and placed in position the heavy artillery. When the light artillery comes up, it is placed round the royal tents. Aurangzeb started at six o'clock of the day, seated on the throne presented to him by the Dutch, as I have stated (II. 42). To carry this throne[1] there were twelve men; in addition, there were three palanquins of different shapes, into which [48] he could get when he pleased. There were also five elephants with different litters (*cherollas*) for his use whenever he desired. Upon his issuing from his tents, the light artillery began the march from its position round them. It was made up of one hundred field-pieces, each drawn by two horses.

The following is the order of the king's march. At the time when he mounted the throne and issued from his tents all the warlike instruments of music were sounded. At the head came the son of the deceased Shekh Mīr with eight thousand cavaliers. In the right wing was Assenalican (Ḥasan Alī Khān), son of Alaberdican (Allahwirdī Khān).[2] This is the Allahwirdī Khān who caused Prince Shāh Shujā' to get down from his elephant at the battle of Khajwah (I. 229). Ḥasan 'Alī Khān commanded eight thousand horsemen; the left wing, consisting of eight thousand horsemen, was commanded by Muḥammad Amīn Khān. In the rear of these two wings were the mounted huntsmen, each with his bird of prey (hawk) on his wrist. Immediately in front of the king went nine elephants with showy flags; behind these nine were other four, bearing green standards with a sun depicted on them. Behind these elephants were nine horses of state, all adorned and ready

[1] 'It was no more than a portable chair,' adds the Venice Codex, fol. 181.

[2] Allahwirdī Khān, a descendant of the Saljūqs, died 1069 H. (1658-59) (see 'M.-ul-U.,' i. 207). Ḥasan 'Alī Khān, Bahādur, 'Ālamgīr Shāhī, was his second son (*ibid.*, i. 593); he died outside Bījāpur the day after it was taken, 15th Ẕu,l Qa'dah, 1097 H. (October 3, 1686).

saddled; after these horses came two horsemen, one carrying a standard with Arabic letters on it, the other with a kettle-drum, which he struck lightly from time to time as a warning that the king was approaching.

There was no want of men on foot, who advanced in ordered files on the one and the other side of the king; some displayed scarlet, others green, pennants; others, again, held in their hands their staves, with which they drove off people when anyone made so bold as to draw near. There were on the right and on the left many horsemen with silver staves keeping the people back. Among the men on foot were some with perfumes, while others were continually watering the road. By their side was an official provided with a description of the provinces, lands, and villages through which the king must pass, in order to explain at once if the king asked what land and whose province it was through which he was then passing. These men can give him an account of everything down to the petty villages, and the revenue obtained from the land.

Other men on foot march with a rope in their hands, measuring the route in the following way.[1] They begin at the royal tent upon the king's coming forth. The man in front who has [49] the rope in his hand makes a mark on the ground, and when the man in the rear arrives at this mark he shouts out, and the first man makes a fresh mark and counts 'two.' Thus they proceed throughout the march, counting 'three,' 'four,' and so on. Another man on foot holds a score in his hand[2] and keeps count. If perchance the king asks how far he has travelled, they reply at once, as they know how many of their ropes go to a league. There is another man on foot who has charge of the hourglass, and measures the time, and each time announces the number of hours with a mallet on a platter of bronze. Behind all these the king moves on his way quietly and very slowly.

So great is the dignity with which the Mogul kings travel,

[1] See the 'Ā,īn-i-Akbarī' (Jarrett), vol. ii., p. 414: 'Whenever His Majesty travels, the distances are recorded by pole measurements by careful surveyors.'

[2] 'Holds in his hand certain pieces of wood or glass threaded on a string exactly like a rosary, and with these as they advance he keeps the count' (Venice Codex, 181).

and the delicacy with which they are treated, that ahead of the column goes a camel carrying some white cloth, which is used to cover over any dead animal or human being found on the road. They place heaps of stones on the corners, so that the cloth may not be blown away by the wind. When he passes, the king stops and asks the why and the wherefore.

[Behind all these squadrons rode on horseback the princes Sulṭān Mu'aẕẕam and Sulṭān A'ẕam.][1] After the king came ten horsemen, four with the royal matchlocks enclosed in cloth-of-gold bags: one bore his spear, one his sword, one his shield, one his dagger, one his bow, one the royal arrows and quiver; all of these in cloth-of-gold bags. After the weapons came the captain of the guard with his troops,[2] then the three royal palanquins, and other palanquins for the princes; then, after the palanquins, twenty-four horsemen, eight with pipes, eight with trumpets, and eight with kettle-drums. Behind these mounted musicians were the five royal elephants bearing litters (*cherollas*); also three elephants, one of which, that in the middle, bore three hands in silver upon a crossbar at the end of a pole,[3] covered with its hood of Malacca [velvet]. These signify 'Observer of the Mahomedan faith.' The other two bore hands in the same style, which signify 'Augmenter and Conservator of the faith.' On the right of this middle one was another elephant, which displayed a plate of copper (*lamina*) upon a staff, with engraved letters in Arabic, meaning 'God is One, and Muḥammad just.' The other had a pair of scales, which means 'a king dealing with justice.'[4] On the right [? left] hand was another elephant bearing a crocodile's head, with a body made of fine white cloth, which, when moved by the wind, looked like a real crocodile, signifying 'Lord of the rivers.' On the left went an elephant showing a spear, which means 'the Conqueror'; to its left again, another with the head of a fish having a body made of cloth, and when swaying in the

1 The passage in the square brackets is struck out in the Venice Codex.

2 In the Venice Codex this is the place assigned to the princes.

3 The word used is *sirial* (*cirial*), the frame on which votive tapers are displayed in Roman Catholic churches.

4 'Although I hold them to be unjust judges and true sons of Astrea' (Venice Codex, 182).

wind [50] this looked like a great fish, and it means 'Lord of the seas.'[1] All these elephants were decorated with valuable housings and ornaments. They were followed by twelve more bearing large kettle-drums, and other instruments made of refined metals not employed in Europe. They are of the nature of large dishes, which, being beaten one against the other, make a great noise. These musical instruments are employed by Armenians, Syrians, and Maronites in Syria at church solemnities and at weddings; they are also used at such events by the Turks.[2] After these musicians came Rajah Jai Singh with eight thousand horsemen, serving as rearguard. Be it known to the reader that each division of those spoken of had six highly-adorned elephants, with rich trappings, displaying on brilliant flags the device of its commander.

At some distance from the foregoing came Roshan Ārā Begam upon a very large elephant in a litter called *pitambar*,[3] which is a dome-roofed throne, very brilliant, made all of enamelled gold, and highly adorned. Behind her followed one hundred and fifty women, her servants, riding handsome horses, and covered from head to foot with their mantles of various colours, each with a cane in her hand.[4] Before Roshan Ārā Begam's elephant marched four elephants with standards, and a number of bold and aggressive men on foot to drive away everybody, noble or pauper, with blows from sticks and with pushes. Thus I wonder when I find someone writing in Europe[5] that he managed one day to get near enough to see a woman servant whisking away the flies from Roshan Ārā Begam, which is an impossibility. For the princesses and nobles' wives are

[1] The passage is confused in the text, and I make out the total of standard-bearing elephants to be *five*, and not *three*. The Venice Codex presents the same difficulty.

[2] 'Ear-piercing instruments which fatigue the hearers rather than delight them' (Venice Codex).

[3] Platts, 'Dictionary,' *Pītambar*, 'clothed in yellow,' a name of Vishnu. Bernier, 372, speaks of it as *mikdunber* (*meghdambar*), which is also a metaphorical name for an elephant.

[4] 'They seemed so many ghosts or spirits of the abyss, you could not tell if they were handsome or ugly, old or young, men or women; for, let alone the face, you could not see even the tips of their toes' (Venice Codex, 183).

[5] This is a covert allusion to the passage in Bernier, p. 373. In the Venice Codex, 183, he is named.

shut up in such a manner that they cannot be seen, although they can observe the passers-by.

Behind Roshan Ārā Begam came her retinue, which consisted of several sour-faced eunuchs on horseback, with others on foot surrounding the litter; after these were three elephants with different kinds of litters covered in rich cloth. Still farther in the rear were many palanquins covered with different nettings of gold thread, in which travelled her chosen ladies. Following them were some sixty elephants with covered litters, carrying her other women. After Roshan Ārā Begam's retinue came three queens, wives of Aurangzeb, and other ladies of the harem, each with her own special retinue. It would be [51] very lengthy to recount all the details of this march, the Moguls being extremely choice in such matters, overlooking no detail that could minister to their glory.

It remains to state that ahead of all this innumerable throng there always moved one day ahead, at the least, the Grand Master of the Royal Household, with other engineers, to choose an appropriate site where the royal tents should be unloaded. For this purpose is always chosen some pleasant spot. The camp is divided in such a way that on the arrival of the army there may be no confusion. In the first instance they fix the site of the royal enclosure, which, by measurements I subsequently took several times, occupies five hundred paces in circumference. Behind the royal quarters is another gateway, where the women live, a place much respected. After this is arranged they fix the position of the tents of the princes, the generals, and the nobles. This is so managed that between these tents and the royal tents there should be a wide space. The central space is encircled by scarlet cloths, having a height of three arm-lengths, and these serve as walls. Around these enclosing screens are posted the field-pieces; in front of them is a ditch, and behind them are palisades of wood made like network, which open and shut just like the ancient chairs of Venice.[1] At the sides of the gateway, at a distance of one

[1] Professor Dr. Cóggiola, of Venice, is unable to refer me to any chair peculiar to Venice, though there were folding-chairs there as elsewhere. Codex XLIV., fol. 184, has: 'Che s'aprono e serrano come alle seggie che costumano gli Barbieri e molte frequentati nelli teatri di Venetia.'

hundred and thirty paces, were two tents, holding each nine horses, most of them saddled. In front of the gateway is a large raised tent for the drummers and players of music.

Among the special royal tents are some where the king gives audience; these are supported by small ornamented masts, upon which are gilt knobs. No one else may make use of these knobs, only persons of the blood-royal. On the top of a very high mast was a lighted lantern, which served as a guide to those who arrived late. The tents of the rajahs and nobles, although high, must not be so high as those of the king; otherwise they would run the risk of having their tents knocked down and being ruined themselves.

When the king comes out of his tent to begin a march, the princes, nobles, and generals throng round to pay him court, each one bringing forward some short request, to which a brief answer is given. They accompany the king to the end of the camp in which they had halted for that day, then each departs to his proper place in his own division. Then the king joins the huntsmen, and announces [52] whether he intends to go hunting or not. When he so wishes he leaves the army, and is followed by only the men on foot and the soldiers of his guard. Everybody else continues the march very slowly. If he does not wish to hunt, the huntsmen move to their previously appointed places. When the advance tents come into sight, the musicians commence anew to play their instruments until the king has passed through the gateway of the tents. Then the small artillery is discharged, while the queens and ladies offer to the king congratulations on arrival, saying, 'Manzel mobarec' (*Manzil mubārak*), which means 'Happy be the journey.'

It should be observed that, although the princesses and ladies start the last, they always arrive the first, having taken some other shorter route. Ordinarily the women start after the baggage and move quickly. I knew that in this journey Roshan Ārā Begam did not take in her litter her maid-servant, but in the latter's place a youth dressed as a maid-servant. God knows what they were up to, in addition to drinking wine. The person who told me this was a friend of mine, a eunuch

who loved wine. The same story was confirmed after the princess's death by several ladies of her suite, and much can be inferred from what I have already said at the time the king came to Dihlī (II. 24).

I go to Dihlī and then to Āgrah.

To describe here the royal camp would occupy much space and be very difficult, owing to its beauty, its order, and the number of people who collect on such occasions; and everybody can infer, from what happens when a European monarch moves out into camp, what it is like in the Mogul territory, where the kings display indescribable magnificence. All I will say is that it looks like a great city travelling from place to place. For there are wanting neither bazars, nor shops, nor markets, nor sports, nor pastimes, nor gold, nor silver; in short, all that could be looked for in a flourishing city is to be found in this camp.[1] Out of curiosity I marched with it three days only, and finding it did not suit me to go on to Kashmīr while out of employ, I decided to turn back. I meant to go to Bengal, as it is a productive country where living is cheap, having also many Europeans in it [53].

This is why I do not write the whole of the king's journey to Kashmīr, although in its proper place I shall touch on some matters in Kashmīr of which I have information. I leave it to the reader's curiosity to read what Monsieur Bernier has written about that journey, although, if I am to speak the truth, he puts many things of his own into his Mogul history; and I could, through his chronology of the times,[2] make it clear that he writes many things which did not occur—nor

[1] 'The numbers of an army do not consist solely in cavalry and infantry soldiers, but the majority are the families and friends of the Rajahs and nobles, who all follow it; the numbers being doubled by dealers of many sorts, goldsmiths, shoemakers, *forgieri* (shoeing-smiths), weavers, embroiderers, and money-changers. The followers are four times the number of the soldiers. When you talk of a division of 8,000 cavalry, the reader may assume that there are always 30,000 persons. However badly off a soldier is, he must have three or four servants' (Venice Codex, 184).

[2] N. M.'s own chronology being persistently two years in arrear of the true dates, it is amusing to find this serious reproof of Bernier's inaccuracy.

could they have occurred—in the way that he relates them. Nor could he have been too well informed, for he did not live more than eight years at the Mogul court; it is so very large that there are an infinity of things to observe. Nor could he so observe, for he had no entrance to the court.[1] As it seems to me, he relied for what he said upon the common people; and if there is any good thing in his books, it is due to the information given him by Père Buzeo, also to what I gave him, having then no intention of writing anything. If I write now, I do so at the demand of my friends, chiefly Monsieur François Martin,[2] Director-General, and Monsieur Deslandes.[2]

Thus I returned to Dihlī, where I stopped several days to take leave of my friends. Then I started for the city of Āgrah, where I came across the Jesuit fathers. I remained there for a while in the enjoyment of the conversation of my old friends, with whom I had been in the fortress of Bhakkar. I did not care to take service with Aurangzeb, but they had accepted and at this time were artillerymen in the fort at Āgrah. They were urgent for me to enter the service; but finding I would not listen to their words, they went and spoke to I'tibār Khān, fancying that he could persuade me. I'tibār Khān sent for me, and on visiting him I presented a cup of crystal. Receiving it with a pleased face, he ordered robes of honour to be given to me. He endeavoured to win me over, and urgently entreated me to remain in the fortress and enter the service. He would grant me any terms I demanded, and allot me the pay I received from Prince Dārā at Bhakkar. He would make me captain over the Christians (which was what they desired, remembering how well I had treated them at Bhakkar).

I tendered my excuses, and said in addition that I was most

[1] 'He who goes not into the palace will find it a very difficult thing to know what occurs inside. If medicine had not opened to me the road, I should never have been able to learn the curious details of court life. It was medicine that opened to me the door of many nobles, and of the principal ladies of the palace, where I penetrated to the most hidden quintessence of their secrets. Monsieur Bernier could well have practised medicine, it being his profession; but, for good and sufficient reasons, he refrained, for he knew that if he did he would be in danger of his life' (Venice Codex, 185).

[2] For Martin and Deslandes, see Appendix to the Introduction.

desirous to see different parts of the world; there was also the aversion [54] I had to Aurangzeb; and equally the face of I'tibār Khān displeased me—in fact, to speak properly, he looked like a baboon. To me it seemed that from one with a face like that no good deed could proceed. Nevertheless, I did not fail to go several times to court, as requested by I'tibār Khān, he imagining in this way to overcome little by little my resolve and bring me to take employment. But each time I went to the audience served only to renew my determination not to stay in Āgrah.

Going thus several times into the fort, I noted that the imprisonment of Shāhjahān was closer than can be expressed. There passed not a day, while I and others were in conversation with the governor, that there did not come under-eunuchs to whisper into his ear an account of all the acts and words of Shāhjahān, and even what passed among the wives, ladies, and slave-girls. Sometimes, smiling at what the eunuchs told him, he would make the company sharers in what was going on inside, adding some foul expressions in disparagement of Shāhjahān. Not content with this even, he sometimes allowed it to be seen that he treated him as a miserable slave. Once an under-eunnch came to tell him that Shāhjahān was in want of 'papuz' (*pāposh*), which are slippers without heels, such as Mahomedans wear. He ordered several pairs to be brought, and the tradesman produced different kinds of *pāposh*, some of leather worth half a rupee, some of plain velvet, and some of velvet more or less embroidered. Some were worth as much as eight rupees, a very small thing for a great king like Shāhjahān, even when in prison. In spite of this, the eunuch, immeasurably stingy, sent him shoes neither of eight rupees nor of four nor of two, but the common leather shoes. He smiled over it as if he had done some great deed; and it was a great deed, being after the nature of his friend Aurangzeb, who knew from this eunuch's physiognomy the vileness of his soul, and selected him to receive charge of his greatest enemy in the world, his father, so that by force of ill-treatment the wretched old man (Shāhjahān) might die.

I know not how it was with the others who were present

when this was done, but certainly I felt it much. I knew the dignity with which Shāhjahān had lived when he was free and Emperor of Hindūstān, above all, when one remembered that I'tibār Khān was formerly [55] a slave of this same Shāhjahān, by whom he was given to Aurangzeb. This faithful eunuch made it his boast to do such-like things to Shāhjahān: One day while a number of us were present and conversing, he (Shāhjahān) sent him (I'tibār Khān) two violins he used, asking for them to be repaired and sent inside again as quickly as possible. The eunuch did not trouble himself about having them repaired; then three days afterwards Shāhjahān sent to inquire whether they were mended. At this the eunuch flew into a rage, and with a vinegary face, sent them off to be repaired. Thus it was only after eight days that they were returned.

It is easy to understand the nature of this eunuch from what he did to his parents. They came from the country of Bengal as far as Āgrah, having heard that their son was governor of that fortress. They anticipated the receipt of something to help them in their old age and poverty. On reaching the gates, they stayed there several days, the door-keepers not consenting to permit their entrance, until they swore they were the parents of the governor. Thereupon came a door-keeper at the time of full audience (I was there myself), and reported to the eunuch that an old man and an old woman had been at the doors for several days. As they had been refused entrance, the old people swore that they were the parents of his excellency.

For a little I'tibār Khān sat silent, like one to whom something has happened that he does not like, then said under his breath, 'Are the wretches still alive?' He ordered them to be brought into the audience-hall. On their appearing, he inquired angrily who they were, what their names were, where they came from, what was their village. To all this they replied in such a manner that by this time I'tibār Khān could have no doubt that they were his parents. Recognising that most certainly they were such, he said publicly to them: 'How have ye the great temerity to come into my presence

after you have consumed the price of my body, and having been the cause, by emasculating me, of depriving me of the greatest pleasures attainable in this world? Of what use are riches to me, having no sons to whom I could leave them? Since you were so cruel as to sell your own blood, let not my auditors think it strange if I betray anger against you.'

He therefore ordered each to receive fifty stripes. Through the courage that inspired me, I took up my parable and told him the story of Joseph and his rise to the greatest place in Egypt [56], and how God made use of the cruelty of his brothers to raise that patriarch to the highest dignity. Then I made the application to his case, so that, quieting down, he forgave them, and ordered one hundred rupees to be given them, enjoining them never to appear again, for if they did, he would without fail take their lives.

Let not the reader be astonished at the eunuch ordering into his presence his miserable, poverty-stricken parents, for it is against our nature to have arrived at high rank and yet not be annoyed at having to disclose the misery from which we started, and allowing it to be found out that our progenitors were of lowly origin; but it is notorious that all eunuchs, grandees as they may be, have no other than poor and miserable progenitors, who out of absolute hunger have sold their sons. Nor do they themselves hold it out as otherwise, deriving hence occasion to vaunt themselves of their own high abilities and great deeds, through which they have risen to such rank.

It was very revolting, the strange manner in which this eunuch treated his own parents, and angered thereby I resolved to leave Āgrah. This eunuch was such a close-fisted fellow that it soon came to his selling the dung of his elephants and horses, whereby he made ten thousand rupees. With this money he bought an elephant, which one day escaping broke one of its legs, and the populace, who in Hindūstān are very free of speech, began to shout as a joke that it was no wonder the elephant broke its leg, for it was an elephant made out of dung. In spite of all this avarice, he built for a memorial during his

government an outer wall (*coirassa*, literally 'cuirass'[1]) round the whole of the Āgrah Fort, which cost him a great deal of money, it being good work and decorative.

Of Eunuchs.

Before setting out, since I'tibār Khān has given me occasion to speak of the race of eunuchs, I will give here a short account of that sort of brute. It may be that everyone does not know what is meant by a eunuch, and may imagine they are like the eunuchs of Europe who are employed as singers . . . [57].[2] If they are rich, they do not fail to have in their houses chosen women, with whom they have converse. If they cannot do this, owing to deficient income, they go in search of them in all directions, seeing that no doors are shut to them, nor do women hide from them.

Among the other qualities of this sort of animal, one is their extreme covetousness in collecting gold, silver, diamonds, and pearls, and they are immeasurably avaricious. They are afraid to spend money even when it is necessary; fond of receiving, niggard in giving. Still, they are anxious to appear well dressed, and when they are astride a fine horse, they are as elated as if they were the greatest men in the world. Well may they hold themselves in such estimation, for they are the favourites of princesses, who are very liberal to them, in order to win them, and from time to time get permission to enjoy that of which I cannot speak. They are useful for the introduction secretly of men into the harem, and through them a husband's favour may be obtained. For the houses of the great are ordinarily under the direction of these persons.

Another of their qualities is to be friendly to women and inimical to men, which may be from envy, knowing what they have been deprived of. The tongue and the hands of these baboons act together, being most licentious in examining everything, both goods and women, coming into the palace; they are foul in speech, and fond of silly stories. Among all the

[1] Probably what is meant is a *fausse-braye*, or, as Anglo-Indian writers style it, a *renny* or *rownee* (see Yule, 771).

[2] Some obscene details are here omitted.

Mahomedans they are ordinarily the strictest observers of the faith, although I knew some who did not fail to drink their little drop, and were fond of wine. These men are the spies for everything that goes on in secret, whereby they are always listening among the kings, princes, queens, and princesses. Fidā'e Khān, of whom I have spoken (I. 140), aware of the character of these monsters, did not allow such to be employed in his house, although he retained two young men [58] who acted as pages; he was indifferent to the fact that this sort of people are kept in the houses of princes and great men. This suffices for a brief notice of what the eunuchs are.

Of the City of Ilavas (Allahābād).

When the Jesuit fathers saw that I did not want to remain in Agrah, but was determined to go to Bengal, Father Henriques Roa (Heinrich Roth[1]), a German rector of the College, earnestly entreated me to take with me two Portuguese friars, then living in his College. They were companions of others who had fled from the town of Chavel (Chaul[2]), and he (Roth) did not wish to be accused of harbouring fugitives. Although I did not burden myself willingly with such merchandise—for I have always held that he who flees from a convent is capable of other misdeeds—nevertheless, to be agreeable to the Father Rector, I took with me the two friars, turning them into my servants. In twelve days we reached Allahābād.

I believe that the reader will be pleased to know that on the eastern side of this city is a fortress all of red stone; it was King Akbar who ordered it to be built; it is very handsome, and very strong. For, in addition to art, Nature also has helped to make it strong: the river Ganges, flowing on the north

[1] Roa (the form also used by Bernier) is Heinrich Roth (born December 18, 1620, died January 20, 1667), a native of either Dillingen or Augsburg. He started for the East in 1650. Some of his work will be found in P. Kircher, 'China Illustrata' (Amsterdam, 1667); Stoecklin, 'Weltbott,' i. 113-115 (Brief aus Rom, 1664); and the pamphlet 'Relatione . . . Rerum Mogul' (Aschaffenburg, 1665). See C. Sommervogel, 'Bibliographie de la Société de Jésus,' s.v. Roth, and Bernier, edition Constable, 329 note, 330.

[2] Chaul (Cheṅwal), twenty-three miles south of Bombay, now known as Revadanḍa (Yule, 210). It is given in Thornton's 'Gazetteer,' p. 212, and is marked in Constable's 'Hand Atlas,' plate 31.

or left side, directs its course towards the south until it reaches the fortress, while the river Jamnah, flowing on the east, at the right hand of the fort, forms a junction with the Ganges River beneath the walls. Besides these rivers, there issues from the rock on which stand the fort and its outworks a petty stream with blue waters, which is called Tirt (Tīrth);[1] it goes by a straight course, like a tongue, between the two rivers until it flows into them. Just as if the said two rivers held those waters in respect, on account of their birthplace, they allow them to pass down for a long distance without their colour being modified. Thus you can plainly see the waters of this streamlet flowing in the middle of the waters of the two rivers, Ganges and Jamnah.

I observed this very specially when, during my stay, one of my friends named Aquim Momena (Ḥakīm Mumin), physician to Bahādur Khān, gave me a dinner upon the said fortification. As it was the first time [59] I saw it, I showed my admiration of this work of Nature. For many gave me particular information, and told me that the Hindūs worship this river Tīrth, their story being that one of their gods opened with an arrow the spring from which the said river rises. Every five years multitudes of Hindūs assemble and wash their bodies in the said stream. This yields a good revenue to the Mogul king, for every person who bathes in the river pays six and a quarter rupees. Such is the multitude of frequenters that in the crowding many are stifled. Nor on this account do the relations of the smothered persons make the usual lamentations. On the contrary, they boast that their relations died in a state of grace and holiness, all of which is included in the word *Tīrth*.

These three rivers flow below the city of Banāras (Benares), ninety leagues from Allahābād, pass near the city of Patana (Paṭnah), forty leagues distant from Benares, then flowing onwards, water the shores of the small town of Muguer (Munger) at a distance of eighty leagues from Paṭnah, and, continuing their course, greet the town of Ragemahal (Rājmaḥal) at forty leagues from Munger. There they divide into two branches:

[1] The Hindi word *Tīrth*, a place of pilgrimage.

one, keeping the name of Ganges, flows as far as Ugulim (Hūglī) in Bengal, and from Hūglī goes southward to the sea; the other branch, under the name of Jamnah, flows near the town of Daca (Ḍhākah), where it mingles with other great rivers.

We were some days in Allahābād, and the then governor was Bahādur Khan,[1] who was absent on a campaign against some villagers who objected to pay their revenue without, at least, one fight, just as the villagers near Āgrah do, as I have recounted (I. 83). Leaving Allahābād, I took the road for Benares by land, carrying with me a passport, as is the practice of all travellers. The route was level and without hills, and in eight days we came to the city of Benares, where we remained several days. This city is small but very ancient, and venerated by the Hindūs, by reason of a temple there possessing a very ancient idol. Some years after my visit Aurangzeb sent orders for its destruction, when he undertook the knocking down of all temples, as I will state in the proper place (II. 116).

In this city is made much cloth worked in gold and silver, which is distributed hence all over the Mogul realm, and is exported to many parts of the world. It is the fashion in Hindūstān to use [60] this proverb: 'Toracana Banarismo Rana' [*Thoṛā khānā, Banāras moṇ rahnā*]—that is, 'Little to eat, but live in Banāras,' suggesting that Benares is a nice place, with a good climate, productive land, and cheap food.[2] Here I crossed the great river, showing the Allahābād passport, as is usual; and by land I arrived in four days at Paṭnah, a very large city with bazars, the greater part thatched, inhabited by many merchants. For here is prepared much white cloth of fine quality.

In this city were two factories, one of the English, and the other of the Dutch, seeing that here, besides cloth of cotton,

[1] Bahādur Khān was sent against Bahādur, Bachgotī, in Baiswārah (Eastern Oudh), and after punishing this rebel a *farmān* was issued appointing him to Allahābād *ṣūbah*, vice Khān Daurān. He was long governor there, and in the tenth year, 1077-78 (1666-67), was moved to Gujarāt. He died in 1109 H. (1697-98) ('Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' i. 801). He is the man that has been mentioned so repeatedly, and was Aurangzeb's foster-brother.

[2] In my time the young bloods of the city punned on its name, saying it meant *banā-ras*, or 'Perfect Delight.'

much fine silk cloth is woven and a huge quantity of saltpetre produced, which goes to be stored in Bengal, and is there loaded on ships for various parts of Europe. Bottles are also made, and cups of clay, finer than glass, lighter than paper, and highly scented; and these, as curiosities, are carried all over the world. When I was at Paṭnah I saw an Armenian friend of mine called Coja Safar (Khwājah Ṣafar) of Āgrah. He had a letter entitling him to receive from a *ṣarrāf* (money-changer) twenty-five thousand rupees. On his arrival he learnt that the *ṣarrāf* had become bankrupt. The Armenian dissimulated. As all the merchants knew him, they brought him cloth, and he took delivery up to thirty thousand rupees' worth. He loaded up all this cloth for Sūrat, continuing himself at Paṭnah. When came the time for paying the merchants, he, in pursuance of the custom of the country, lighted two candles in the morning as a sign that he had become bankrupt;[1] he sat at his house, with no turban on his head, a simple cloth bound round his loins, his seat an old bit of matting, and a dejected expression on his face. A great tumult arose in the city, and the merchants thronged to learn the cause; there was a storm of questions, answers, and bad language. To all this he replied with a sad countenance, calmly, and without heat, by the word 'Divalia' (*diwālā*), which means 'bankrupt.' No other response could they get. They carried him off to court, but on the quiet he had given the judge a bribe of five thousand rupees. At the hearing he (Ṣafar) produced the bill of exchange that he got at Āgrah upon the *ṣarrāf* of Paṭnah, and made the defence that this *ṣarrāf* was the cause that he, too, was a bankrupt. The judge decreed that the merchants must take the bill of exchange and procure payment for themselves, being fellow-citizens of the *ṣarrāf*. It was unreasonable that a stranger should suffer in a foreign country. The Armenian, being thus absolved, made his way to Sūrat [61].

At this time Dautcan (Dā,ūd Khān) governed the city of Paṭnah. This is the man who was unwilling to forsake the service of Dārā, yet was forced to leave it because Dārā, in op-

[1] This practice is the origin of the Hindi phrase for bankruptcy—*diwālā nikalnā*, to come out *diwālā* (with lamps), from *dīwā*, a lamp.

position to all reason, expelled him from the service when he marched out of Multān. The prince acted on unfounded suspicions, as I have recounted in the other part (I. 208, 217). I went to visit him, and he was very delighted to see me, remembering that I had been something of a favourite with Prince Dārā. He gave me a set of robes (*sarāpā*). He still retained much affection for the deceased prince, upbraiding the evil fortune that had pursued him. He said to me that if Prince Dārā were still alive he would never have taken service under Aurangzeb, and now that he had accepted employment, he had been sent to govern Paṭnah. He was desirous for me to become his follower, making me great offers; but as I wished to continue my projected journey, I asked him to forgive me, as I had business in Bengal. He agreed to let me go, on condition that I accepted from him a boat for making my journey by river to Bengal, as a mark of the affection he bore me.

I accepted the offer, and of the two horses I had I sold one; the other I embarked on the boat. Then I got into it, taking the two friars, with whom I was considerably incensed. We proceeded slowly, and arriving near an island, while our meal was in preparation I landed with my boys to go shooting, there being abundance of game in these islands, all of them uninhabited. Having shot sufficient for supper and breakfast, I returned to the boat, and every evening we slept close to the bank.[1]

One day during this voyage the boatman told me not to put any trust in the friars, for they were not my friends; on the contrary, they had several times wanted to resume the journey while I was out on an island shooting. But the boatman would never consent, knowing that Dā,ūd K̲h̲ān would wreak vengeance on him for daring so to act. I knew quite well that the friars were capable of doing this; for the more I tried to please them, the more insolent they became. They did not recognise the benefit I was doing them, for no other reason than their being men of religious profession, recommended by the Father Rector of the Jesuits in Āgrah.

[1] Or, in old Anglo-Indian parlance, they 'lagoed' for the night (see Fanny Parkes, *passim*).

I wanted to find out whether really they spoke thus to the boatman, and I learnt after some days that they again did as before. Thus, I was compelled to show myself [62] in a rage, and I said to them that if they did not amend their impertinent ways, I would abandon them on some island, and leave them at the disposal of Time and the wild beasts. I hoped that they would not thereafter venture to incur my displeasure. All men of wisdom know that with certain characters it is necessary to be resolute before yoù can make them abate their rage, and thus was it requisite to do on this occasion to make them thoroughly uneasy.

Finally I reached Rājmaḥal, the former court residence of Prince Shāh Shujā', where I delayed a few days to see the ruins of the city, the dilapidated palaces, the great fallen mansions, the neglected groves and gardens. At this time the city was ruled by Mirzā Jānī, who had been the captain of Shāh Shujā''s artillery in the severe battle of Khajwah. Upon the defeat of that prince, Mīr Jumlah, who was Viceroy of Bengal, aware of the prudence and valour of Mirzā Jānī, made him governor of this city. Here I satisfied myself that the affair of the cobras, which I related before I began to speak of the rebellion in the Mogul kingdom (I. 157), happened exactly as I told it then, for everybody gave me the story in one and the same way.

From Rājmaḥal I continued my journey on the river to the city of Daca (Ḍhākah), which was reached in fifteen days from leaving Rājmaḥal. The city of Ḍhākah is the metropolis of the whole province of Bengal, where a viceroy always resides who wields the greatest power, although when I reached it Mīr Jumlah, the then viceroy, was not there, he having gone to make war on Assam, a campaign of which I will speak farther on (II. 74). The city of Ḍhākah, without being strong or large, has many inhabitants. Most of its houses are made of straw. At this period there were two factories, one English and the other Dutch; there were many Christians, white and black Portuguese, with a church served by a friar called Agostinho.[1]

[1] Müllbauer, 'Geschichte,' 342, refers to the Augustinian's church at Dhākah, 'Nostra Senhora da Assumpçaõ,' relying on Thevenot, 199. But he does not mention the priest's name.

Here I made the acquaintance of an Englishman named Thomas Plata (? Platt),[1] a courteous man, who had from Mīr Jumlah five hundred rupees a month. He was master of the riverside, and employed in building boats and making ammunition for river fighting. This Englishman carried me off to his house, and I received from him many favours; I shall have something to say [63] about him after the death of Mīr Jumlah (II. 75), through something that then happened to him. After some days I embarked once more, accompanied by the friars, traversing the great river of Ḍhākah, on my way to Hūglī. Having discovered that I had little time to spare, and that there was a shorter and safer route to Hūglī, we therefore quitted the main stream and passed by a way between forests, which are called the Forests of Sunderi (Sundarbans).[2]

The Forests of Sunderi (the Sundarbans).

These forests are renowned in Bengal for the ferocious tigers, the buffaloes, and rhinoceroses inhabiting them. In passing through them it is necessary to post sentinels at night, for often it happens that tigers swim out and enter the boats, picking out the most portly of the travellers and carrying him off to the jungle. A short time before there passed by this way a Portuguese from Chatigaõ (Chātgaṇw), one of those Portuguese who know neither God nor eternity. His boat was the *Julia*, and his own name was Manoel Coelho. One day he said to his crew that they must land to cook food. They answered that it could not be done, by reason of the jungle being full of tigers capable of doing them injury. More ferocious than the very tigers, he flew into a passion and insisted absolutely on

[1] This must be the Thomas Pratt, Englishman, named on fol. 5*b* of Richard Bell's 'Travels,' British Museum, Sloane MSS., No. 811, who assisted Shāh Shujā', and was in command of twenty brigantines.

[2] Sundarbans (see Yule, 869, 870). The use of 'matos de Sunderi' by Manucci, referring to 1663 (*circa*), is interesting and important as an early example of the modern appellation. He places the Sunderbans in their proper situation. Apropos of Yule's remark about *Sandarī* being the correct transliteration, it should be noted that Manucci's *Sunderi* (following the Italian or Portuguese vowel scheme) points to *Sundarī* as more correct than *Sandarī*.

their landing. If any tiger came, let them tell it they were the men of Manoel Coelho, and it must therefore take good heed not to do them harm, otherwise such conduct would cost it dear.

Intimidated by the threats of their master, the sailors landed, and hardly had they reached the bank when a fierce tiger snatched up one of them and carried him into the jungle. The others did not count their steps on their way back to the *Julia*, where, arriving more dead than alive, they made complaint that the tiger had already killed one of them. Manoel Coelho inquired whether they told the tiger they were his men. They replied, 'Yes, but the tiger made no account of our shouts.' Manoel Coelho was courageous, and seized his shield with his left hand and his dagger (*cris*)[1] with his right. The latter is a poignard made in the shape of a serpent (or bill-hook ?), the wound from which is usually incurable, they being tempered in poison. This is the usual weapon of the Malays.[1]

He (Manoel Coelho) entered the jungle boldly and alone. Following [64] the traces of blood, he saw the tiger tearing the dead man to pieces. He gave a shout, and the tiger, expecting to make a fresh prize, with one bound was upon him. He parried the attack with his shield, and plunged the dagger into its belly so that the tiger died, while Manoel Coelho, 'Tiger-slayer,'—for so he called himself thenceforth—returned to the boat and contemptuously ordered the men to skin the tiger, and of it he caused a drum-head to be made.

In the forest many fires are to be seen at night, and the common opinion is they are the fires of witches, whom in Bengal they call *sangueny* (Śaṅkhinī)[2] of whom there are many. It happened that in passing these forests a boat sent its people ashore to collect wood. A Portuguese youth, out of curiosity, penetrated into the interior, where there met him a beautiful

[1] The 'cris' or 'crease' is the Malay sword or dagger (Yule, 274).

[2] I am indebted to Dr. Grierson, C.I.E., for this identification. It is a word adopted into Bengāli, with the meaning of 'a fairy'; when further corrupted into *śā̃khinī*, it means 'a spectre,' 'a goblin.' It is the Sanskrit *śaṅkhinī*, the third of the four orders into which women are divided. They have treacherous dispositions and harsh voices. Much unedifying information about these ladies will be found on pp. 128 *ff* of Schmidt's 'Beiträge zur Indischen Erotik.'

woman, with whom he fell in love. The woman made him a sign with her hand, and he followed her. She took him to a place where, under the shelter of a great tree, stood a house. Every day she came to visit him, and brought him delicate viands. There he dwelt four years, when, upon the arrival of another boat, its crew landed to collect wood, and he was discovered by these travellers, who took him away from the tree, he being unable to speak. They took him on board, and two hours afterwards there was a great upheaval in the stream. This may have happened because his lady-love did not find him, and therefore attempted to wreck the vessel; but by the favour of God they reached Hūglī. The boy, being devoted to her, always cherished a longing for his companion and the tree. This happened in my time, and although I never talked with the youth, I knew many to whom he had told the story.

In forty days we got through the forest and reached the waters of Hūglī, not far from the sea. The friars made for the harbour of Balasor, where they wanted to beg for alms. I disembarked at Hūglī, and went to see the Father Prior of St. Augustin's,[1] named Frey Iraõ Bautista. Here I found the chief inhabitants of Hūglī, all of them rich Portuguese, for in those days they alone were allowed to deal in salt throughout the province of Bengal. The father asked me at once if there had come with me two fugitive friars. I replied that two fathers had come, but they were not fugitives—on the contrary, they were religious persons much to be esteemed; that they had come to gather alms for their convent, and were gone [65] to Balasor. Thus did I repay the troubles they had caused me on the journey. But they did not equally return to me the good I had done them, as I shall relate (II. 67). The Father Prior placed trust in my words, and made ready two cells to receive the friars on their arrival, which came to pass a few days afterwards, when they were well received.

[1] Thornton, 'Gazetteer,' 390, says the church bears the date of 1599, and was built by the Jesuits. The last statement is probably erroneous, as Hūglī was at first a mission of the Augustinian Order.

My Stay in Hūglī, and what happened there.

Some days after my arrival the Jesuit fathers came to visit me, and in course of conversation they said to me that they had a tiny church, and that only built of straw. They desired to construct one of stone, but the governor objected, although they were ready to pay him five thousand rupees. The governor was Mirzagol (? Mirzā Gūl or Mug̠h̠al), an old man of Persian race, who had been in Shāh Shujā''s service when he fought the famous battle of Khajwah against Aurangzeb. He afterwards entered the service of Aurangzeb, and Mīr Jumlah, who knew his prudence, made him governor of Hūglī. This governor was determined that the Jesuit fathers should not build a church, and he issued orders that no one should work at such an edifice under penalty of losing a hand.

The fathers begged me most earnestly to speak to Mirzā Gūl on this matter. To be of service to the fathers, I paid a visit to the governor, when we had a talk over the events in the recent wars, so that he took a fancy to me. He said to me that if he could be of use to me in any way he would do it willingly. Seeing an opening for carrying out the project of the fathers, who were with me, I explained to him, after many polite words, that I should be content if he would allow the fathers to build their church. This was the greatest favour that he could do for me. Then I presented to him their petition, which he granted on the spot.

When they learnt this, the Portuguese were all amazed that I with a few words had secured what they could not obtain for five thousand rupees. This thing caused them to seek every mode of keeping me in Hūglī, they supposing that, as I had managed so easily such a difficult affair, I would prove of benefit to the Portuguese should I take up my residence there. They found that I was not willing; on the contrary, I wanted to go back to Mogul territory [66] to practise the science of medicine, of which I had begun to learn the elements, and was continuing my studies. I knew from experience that Frank physicians are held in esteem by the Mahomedans. Then they thought to detain me by a marriage

to a young lady, with the promise of thirty thousand rupees and two *pataxos*[1] loaded with salt, making in the whole one hundred thousand rupees, also a house furnished with everything necessary for a newly-married couple.

I was really anxious that this contract should be carried through; all the same, I made a show of not caring a rap, pretending, on the contrary, that I was absolutely determined to return to the Mogul country. The Jesuit fathers were never tired of trying to get a 'Yes' from me, but though in reality desirous in my heart of assenting, I made a show of refusal, so that they might not fancy they were conferring any benefit on me; nor, if afterwards there chanced to be any quarrel, could they throw in my face the benefit they had done me.

The friends with whom I had travelled from Āgrah to Bengal were anxious on this occasion to repay me for the kindness I had done them in taking them as my companions. They came to interview me, and by a long argument tried to draw from my purse three thousand rupees. They said if I gave them the three thousand rupees, they had the power of arranging a very profitable marriage for me. They supposed that at the time I knew nothing of this proposed marriage, and thus they came confidently hoping to suck these three thousand rupees out of me. With an unmoved face I gave them my thanks, saying that I had no wish to marry. Worn out by talking, they had to quit my dwelling without the rupees.

They (the friars) waited until a day on which my proposed father-in-law had prepared a luncheon, and intended to come with the Jesuit fathers and other of his friends to carry me with them to this feast. He meant to obtain my acquiescence during the meal. All of a sudden they (the two friars) appeared in the company. Everybody was pleased, looking on the friars as my friends; and they were invited to come also to my house to fetch me and settle about the wedding. Those two men, who

[1] Can this be intended for *paṭelā*, a large flat-bottomed boat? (see Yule, 687, s.v. 'Pattello'). Or, perhaps, it is merely the Italian *patascia*, advice-boat, packet-boat; in French *patache*. Faria y Souza, in his 'Asia Portuguesa,' uses the word *patache* for some kind of boat.

sought nothing but my harm, began to give vent to the rage that they had against me, at not having been able to extract the three thousand rupees from me. They expressed their surprise that a rich man, having only one daughter, the heiress of much wealth, should seek for her the ill fortune of being married to a foreign youth, one [67] of little ability. On the other hand, there were many Portuguese, of good sense, of good family, well-established merchants in Hūglī, who were willing to marry the girl; if others were consenting to this union, they could not concur in such an injury being inflicted on the girl.

Everybody was amazed at this kind of talk from the friars, they all supposing them to be my friends, as I had vouched for them; and their words found acceptance in the minds of many present. The two knew that someone would come to tell me what had happened, therefore they cunningly took the initiative and came within the same hour to visit me. They said Hūglī was not a good place for me; it were better to quit it at once. The father Prior of the Augustinians was, they said, very vexed with me for obtaining permission for the Jesuit fathers to build their church. He had sworn that when he came across me he would thrust some insult upon me.

As soon as they had left my house I took pen and ink and wrote a letter to the said father Prior, asking the cause of his displeasure. For it did not seem to me sufficient cause to be vexed, because a stranger had assisted in getting God glorified. Nevertheless, if I had offended, I would come to him for my penance. But it did not seem to me right that he should show signs of displeasure, as recounted to me by such and such priests. He replied to me that he had no grievance about my gaining the permission for the Jesuit fathers, but it was because they had promised him one hundred and fifty rupees if the negotiation succeeded, and now were unwilling to keep their word. Meanwhile there appeared the foster-brother of her who was to be my wife; he was my great friend, and he told me all that had occurred. The story was confirmed by other friends, who had been present during the telling of falsehoods about me by the two friars.

I came out of my house and went to the father Prior of the

Augustinians, where I made known what the friars were, for I saw now they were full of guile. I told him, as was the truth, that they collected alms not for the convent, but for themselves. They had tried to levy from my purse three thousand rupees; but as I did not wish to give them this money, they invented falsehoods about me. They supposed I wanted to get married, whereas the thought of it had never entered my head. The father Prior approved what I said [68], and extracted from the hands of the fugitives the alms collected, writing to the convent of the said friars at Goa as to what he had done. He gave orders in his convent of the Augustinians for the preparation of a satisfactory account of the money. The said father Prior made complaint to me for my not having denounced them as absconders. I replied that under the impression that they intended to do better deeds than those they had committed in the Mogul country, I judged myself under an obligation to screen my neighbour's faults; but finding that they were acting worse than before, I held it now opportune to declare the truth.

Crocodiles of the Ganges.

My stay at Hūglī lasted two months. I observed that the waters are full of carnivorous crocodiles, which live upon the dead bodies thrown by the Hindūs into the Ganges. No year passes without the crocodiles killing several living persons, who go either to bathe their bodies or to draw water. The crocodile lies in wait, and with one stroke of its tail on the person's legs knocks him down. A Portuguese was in the habit of bathing, and as a protection against the crocodiles, he had erected a palisade in the river at the place where he always took his bath, so that the crocodiles could not reach him. One day he went for his bath and began to undress; but a dog he had with him hindered his taking off his clothes. This angered the Portuguese, but still the dog would not desist from interfering with his master and keeping him out of the water. He had spied a crocodile, which, one knows not how or where, had managed to find entrance into the enclosure. The Portuguese tried his best to get rid of the dog, but the faithful creature would not allow his master to die. Therefore, growing angry,

he barked as if he meant to bite the man in whose house he had been reared. The Portuguese ordered the troublesome dog to be taken away. The latter, seeing they wanted to catch him, and that if they did so he would be unable to protect his master from the crocodile, jumped into the water where the crocodile was before his master could enter. The crocodile, with one rush to the side of the water, laid hold of the dog. Thus was the man saved, and he then knew the meaning of the cries and noise made by the dog.

There was another thing I wondered at in the Ganges—that is, frequently [69] the Mahomedans, as an amusement, get into a small boat, and try to catch a crocodile by sorceries, which are much resorted to in the country of Bengal. They take a pot and throw into it some flowers, repeating a spell over the pot. Then they place the pot in the river, and it moves of itself against stream. They follow it leisurely in the boat until the pot arrives of itself where there is a crocodile. Thereupon the sorcerer orders the crocodile to give a paw, and it obeys. This paw is made fast; then he asks for the other, and it, too, is fastened. Then the brute is dragged to shore as if he were quite meek, or merely an old woman. They kill him with their spears in perfect security. When I was in Hūgli they killed a crocodile, which had then in its stomach bracelets and rings of the women it had eaten.

I know that it is not seemly for a layman to raise his eyes to the skies (*ponere os in cœlum*) when speaking of the ministers of the Gospel. Yet I cannot dispense with saying something, at any rate, to warn the superior authorities against sending such men to mission work as give an opening for speaking ill of the priesthood. Let them be vowed to poverty, and more gentle in dealing with their neighbour than those I encountered when in Bengal; and if I must tell the truth, let them send priests more devout than those that were there. I solemnly declare I speak of no individual, nor wish to lay bare the failings of anyone, but it is quite certain that the Mahomedans and Hindūs, let alone the Christians, are not edified by the lives of some missionaries. I will not speak further from the respect I bear to those ministering at the altar; what I here say and do

is for love of God's glory, and that in all sincerity what goes on in these countries may be known in Europe.

It appears to me that if the orders and instructions of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide were carried out, as to the recall to their convents of the religious who have dwelt some time in the missions, there would not be so many complaints about the fathers, nor would they become the subject of conversation. What could be better than 'vacarent studio orationi et ministerio verbi, sicut decet sanctos,'[1] and that they should remember that 'qui militat Deo [70] non implicat se negociis secularibus,'[2] as said St. Paul. There can be no doubt that missions are a great work, but missionaries must be imitators of the Apostles, who preached by miracles and not by hectoring words. If I thought my book would not fall into the hands of laymen, I would state some other matters, in the hope that zealous superiors might provide a remedy for the many disorders existing in India in this direction.

I GO ONCE MORE TO ĀGRAH BY LAND.

Certain friends were very anxious for me to remain in Hūglī to renew the proposals of marriage. But being quite ready for a start, I declined to listen to anyone. Two days after the above-mentioned event I quitted Hūglī by land. Some imagined that I was not really going, for before I had reached Cassim Bazar (Qāsim Bāzār) they sent me couriers calling on me to return, saying that already the plot of my enemies had been discovered, and my father-in-law was anxiously awaiting me

1 'They should devote all their time to study, prayer, and the ministry of the word, as befits saints.' Possibly a reminiscence of Acts vi. 4.

2 'No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life; that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a soldier' (2 Tim. ii. 4).

3 Müllbauer, 'Geschichte,' 343, relying on Cerri, 184, and Forteguerri, comments on the low standard of the Augustinian mission in Bengal; the churches were in ruins, the monks avaricious, disorderly in life, keeping many servants, devoid of high culture or any knowledge of the vernaculars (Urbano Cerri, 'État présent de l'Église Romaine,' Amsterdam, 1716; Nicolò Porteguerri, 'Memorie Intorno alle Missioni,' still in MS. in 1852). Le Sieur Luillier, speaking of Hūglī in 1702, makes the same sort of remark ('Nouveau Voyage aux Grandes Indes,' p. 48; 12mo., Rotterdam, 1726).

to give me his daughter as my bride. I paid no heed to such letters and promises, for I had by that time made up my mind to go once more to Dihlī.

I reached Qāsim Bāzār, at three days' journey from Hūglī, and here I saw that they make much high-quality piece-goods and much white cloth. There are in this village, which is near the Ganges, three factories of the French, English, and Dutch. From Qāsim Bāzār I took the road to Rājmaḥal, and there waited to see a Hindū woman burnt, although I had already seen many. She had poisoned her husband by reason of her love for a musician, hoping to get married afterwards to this lover. But on the husband's death the musician refused to marry her. Thus, finding herself deprived of a husband and her reputation gone, she resolved to be burnt. A great crowd collected to look on; among them appeared the musician, hoping to receive from her something by way of memorial. It is usual for women who go to be burnt to distribute betel-leaf or jewels. The place was a large pit. As she was circumambulating this pit, she came close to the young musician, and, taking from her neck a gold chain she had on as an ornament, she flung it round the young man's neck, and taking him forcibly into her arms, jumped [71] into the pit. Everyone was taken aback at this, not anticipating such a thing. Thus did she and the youth together expiate their sin and the murder of the husband.[1]

From Rājmaḥal I made once more for Paṭnah, where I halted several days, spending a jolly time with some English and Dutch friends. I then started for Allahābād, and from Allahābād I went to Āgrah, where was King Shāhjahān, still kept with the same rigour as ordered by King Aurangzeb, who was then in Kashmīr. The routes I had traversed are much frequented, full of villages and *sarāes*, food being good and cheap.

Some time after my arrival in Āgrah there came to my house a Dutch surgeon named Jacob, a fugitive from the harbour of

[1] The same story is told by Bernier without place or date (see Constable's edition, 311). Yule, 882, quotes it from A. Hamilton, 'A New Account,' edition 1727, i. 278, who got it by hearsay.

Goa, having killed a man when the Dutch blockaded the entrance to that place.[1] His visit was most opportune. For the governor of the city, who suffered from a fistula, had sent for me to see if I could cure him. None of the Europeans living in the fort knew the proper treatment, nor was there any Mahomedan surgeon who would venture to deal with the case. I asked Jacob, who was unable to speak Moors, and was a poor, miserable creature, whether he had the courage to treat such a complaint. He replied in the affirmative, and so I went with him to the governor, and in a short time we cured him, when he gave us a considerable sum for our trouble, besides the presents sent to me during the time we were attending him. Thus little by little I began to turn myself into a physician, although I did not make bold to announce myself as such.

During my stay in Āgrah I went one day to make an excursion into the country on horseback, in the company of a young Armenian. We came where a Hindū woman had begun to move round her pyre, which was already blazing; she rested her eyes on us, as if she appealed to us for help. The Armenian asked if I would join him in saving the woman from death. I said I would. Seizing our swords, and our servants doing the same, we charged with our horses into the midst of the crowd looking on, shouting, 'Mata, mata!' [Kill, kill!], whereat the Brahmans, being frightened, all took to flight, and left the woman unguarded. The Armenian laid hold of her, and making her mount behind him, carried her off. Subsequently, having had her baptized, he married her [72]. When I passed through Sūrat (II. 177) I found her living there with her son, and she returned me many thanks for the benefit done to her. When the king returned from Kashmīr, the Brahmans went to complain that the soldiers did not allow women to be burnt, in accordance with their customs. The king issued an order that in all lands under Mogul control never again should the officials allow a woman to be burnt. This order endures to this day.

[1] The Dutch blockades of Goa were in April, 1637, October, 1637, to January, 1638, and January to February, 1639 (see Danvers, ii. 262, 264, 267). I suppose one of these is referred to; or it may be the blockade of 1660-61, mentioned in Part V., folio 202.

THE WAR IN ASSAM.

It is time now to tell what happened during the time that Aurangzeb was in Kashmīr. I have already said that before his departure he sent orders to Mīr Jumlah to undertake the conquest of Assam.[1] It was the common belief that Aurangzeb ordered Mīr Jumlah into Assam that he might be got rid of, dreading that, as he had thrown the kingdom of Gulkandah into confusion, and had known how to arrange for the conquest of Dārā and the destruction of Shivā Jī, he might likewise attempt by his devices to place someone else on the Mogul throne.

Whatever might have been the reason for this order, Mīr Jumlah at the head of his brave captains went forth to conquer a new realm, taking with him his loyal follower Diler Khān. Both were anxious to open to Aurangzeb a door for entering China. For that seemed an easy thing after the acquisition of Assam. Assam lies among mountains, is a very fertile country, most luxuriant in food-products and fruit, which are here found of various kinds such as we have in Europe—that is, pears, apples, peaches, cherries, grapes. With it as a base they could take Pegū, and through it enter into China.

They left the city of Ḍhākah together, at the head of forty thousand horsemen, in addition to infantry—these moved by land; and by way of the river he sent a large fleet commanded by Portuguese. These two forces reached, at a distance of one hundred leagues from Ḍhākah, a small fortress called Aso (Hājo),[2] which, years before this time, the Assamese had taken from the province of Bengal. In a short time Mīr Jumlah captured that fort. From this place he marched for twenty-eight days into the territory of Assam. The Assamese believed that if the fleet were destroyed it would be easy to eat up the

[1] The best account of this Assam expedition is in the 'Fatḥīyah-i-'Ibratīyah' of Shahāb-ud-dīn, Ṯālish. There is a translation of it into French, through the Urdū of Mīr Bahādur 'Alī, by Theodore Pavie (Paris, 1845). See Elliot and Dowson, vii. 199; Rieu, British Museum Catalogue, i. 266 (Additional MS., 25, 422); Sachau and Ethé's Bodleian Catalogue, No. 240.

[2] Constable's 'Hand Atlas,' *Ab*, 30, Hājo, in the Kāmrūp district of Assam.

land army. For it would suffice to block the way to supplies, and then the army would waste away. It was very easy to accomplish this, as the country is mountainous and the paths very narrow.

For this purpose [73] a very powerful Assamese fleet appeared one day, and coming down with the stream in its favour, it looked as if it would swallow up all the Portuguese and their boats. But the latter warded them off, and the force of the current carried the Assamese past their goal, the Portuguese meanwhile making a great din with their mortars and matchlocks. When the Assamese had passed their enemy they veered, but the Portuguese fell upon them with such impetuosity that in a little the whole of that fleet was destroyed, some ships sent to the bottom, some captured, and altogether great loss being inflicted on the Assamese.

Glorious and triumphant, Mīr Jumlah believed that by this victory he already held the whole of Assam in his grasp. He considered that Fortune was in his favour. Not to allow the rajah to entrench himself in any fortified place, he continued to advance, the rajah always retreating and doing nothing but hindering the supplies, or killing any stray individual who had gone in search of forage or firewood. He awaited the coming of the rainy season, in which the floods cover the low ground, for which reason the cities and villages are placed upon heights.

The Assamese finding, in spite of their killing all stragglers from the army, that the Moguls were not deterred thereby from boldly advancing, they tried a scheme for frightening them and killing them by degrees. It was as follows: To as many as they caught they inserted in the anus an iron like a Turkish padlock, which, once in, could never be withdrawn; its shape was thus It shut up as it went in, and once inside it opened out, leaving the handle projecting. The poor things returned to the army lamenting, and died in a desperate state. The army of Mīr Jumlah was terrorized, and after that experience men were very much more cautious in going to a distance.

Mīr Jumlah and his soldiers reached the principal city of the

Assam kingdom, called Guergaõ (Khargāṇw),[1] and fighting bravely, ejected the rajah. The latter retired into the mountains, and Mīr Jumlah, after occupying the place, caused the tombs to be destroyed, which contained great treasures, it being the Assam custom to bury with the defunct the wealth that he possessed. It is the practice of these people[2] that when the master of the house dies they bury with him all his wives, concubines, and servants—that is, the tailors, washermen, barbers, and others who serve in the deceased's house, setting them all on fire after binding their feet.

The city of [74] Khargāṇw is very large and fine, inhabited by rich merchants—that is, according to the stories told me in Ḍhākah when I passed through it (II. 62). The natives of those lands take four wives. Here the women are very lovely, and they do all the work of the house, the men being indolent, except in war-time, when they all go forth to fight. When I passed through Ḍhākah I saw huge boats which Mīr Jumlah was sending loaded with the booty taken at Khargāṇw and other places. These boats had extremely high poops, carved with ugly, fear-inspiring faces. Their armament was of small pieces, swivel-guns (*trilhoens*) and *petrechos*[3] of bronze, of which the muzzles whence the ball issues were fashioned into shapes of animals—tigers, lions, dogs, elephants, and crocodiles.

Finding that though he had captured the city of Khargāṇw he was still unable to overtake the rajah in his flight into the hills, Mīr Jumlah continued to amuse himself in the said city. But the rajah blocked all supplies, setting fire to everything, and posting soldiers so that no food from outside could find its way into the town. Thus he continued hostilities until the arrival of the rainy season, which also fought for him. For food being exhausted in Mīr Jumlah's army, the soldiers were

[1] Guergaõ is evidently the Ghargāṇw of Khāfī Khān, ii. 153, 154 (Elliot and Dowson, vii. 266). In Constable's 'Hand Atlas,' B*b*, 30, Kuriagaon, in the Darrang district of Assam, half-way between Tezpur and Sībsāgar.

[2] The same statement is made by Khāfī Khān, ii. 153 (see Elliot and Dowson, vii. 264).

[3] The dictionary for *petrechos* gives 'ammunition of war'; but that will not suit here, as it is evident that some form of artillery is intended. Is it *petardo*, a hand-grenade, or, perhaps, a mortar?

forced to eat the flesh of horses and camels, and anything of that sort they could find. In this way Mīr Jumlah was constrained to quit Assam, since his people began to die from such inferior food. But if it had been easy to get into, it was very difficult to get out of this country, owing to the floods, also to the ambushes laid by the natives. It looked as if Mīr Jumlah would be quite used up there, and, had it not been that by his prudence he was able to manœuvre so skilfully, his retreat would have been a disaster. He left with the Assamese a remembrance of his name. It was not for want of courage nor of determination that he left to the Assamese their indigenous king, but because the mountains of the interior cannot be overcome, and the seasons were against him. With great difficulty he reached the fortress of Hājo, and strengthening its defences, resolved to go once more in the following year against the rajah. But little did he know what was in store for him, for already was drawing near the term of his achievements and the time to finish with his wiles [75].

Death of Mīr Jumlah.

Having put the fortress (Hājo) in order, he went back to Ḍhākah to enjoy the wealth that by this victory he had added to his store. There in a few days he fell ill with a retention of urine. Perceiving Fate approaching to sever with her shears the thread of his life, he sent for his wife, to whom he spoke at length, consoling her by the fact that though he was dying he left a son behind and a grandson. For them he gave her some magnificent diamonds, which she was to make over to them herself. She was to receive them on behalf of her son; and he charged her to have great care of the little one. Then he wrote a letter to Aurangzeb, wherein he informed him that there was now no time to display to him his fidelity, or to prove the eagerness with which he ever accepted any project that could result in His Majesty's glory. He hoped that in remembrance of his fidelity Aurangzeb would extend his favour to his son, Muḥammad Amīn Khān; but above all he besought a favourable reception for his grandson, Mirzā ‘Abdullah, so that

he might be accounted one of the royal slaves. In a few hours the great Mīr Jumlah, who by rebellion against the King of Gulkandah caused the ruin of that kingdom, who aided Aurangzeb with counsel, arms, and wealth in the seizure of Shāhjahān, the beheadal of Dārā, the seizure of Murād Bakhsh, and the extinction of Shāh Shujā', ended in the grave all his glories, leaving behind him much to be said of him, both in praise of his prudence and courage and in condemnation of the treachery done to two kings—namely, to Quṭb Shāh, King of Gulkandah, and the great Shāhjahān, emperor of the Moguls.[1]

THE CASE OF THOMAS PLATA (PRATT).

Aurangzeb received the above letter and the news of Mīr Jumlah's death while he was in Kashmīr. He appeared outwardly much disturbed at this misadventure, and at once sent orders to Dā,ūd Khān, who was, as I have said, governor of Paṭnah (II. 61), that he must proceed to Ḍhākah and take over charge of the Bengal province until he could send someone else. As Muḥammad Amīn Khān was at court, Aurangzeb sent for him and consoled him, saying that if he had lost his father, he (Aurangzeb) took his place and accepted him as a son. Then he ordered him to be invested with a valuable robe of honour [76], and increased his pay by one hundred thousand rupees, informing him that he might take possession of all his father's wealth. He was made Mīr Bakhshī—that is to say, captain-general of the cavalry of the empire. In a short time, as Aurangzeb said he would do, he was deputed as Viceroy to Lāhor; in addition, two hundred thousand rupees were fixed as the annual pay of his son, Mīrzā 'Abdullah.

Upon Dā,ūd Khān's arrival at Ḍhākah, he began to issue orders. One day it happened that some soldiers interfered groundlessly with a neighbour of Thomas Plata, Englishman.

[1] Mīr Muḥammad Sa'īd, Ardastānī, entitled Mīr Jumlah, then Mu'aẓẓam Khān, then Khān Khānān, Sipahsālār, one of the great Shāhjahānī and 'Ālamgīrī nobles, died in Bengal, on his return from a campaign in Assam, on the 4th Ramaẓān, 1073 H. (April 12, 1663). His rank was 7,000, 5,000 horse, 5,000 *dūaspah*. 'Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī,' 1073).

Thereupon the servants of Thomas Plata ran out to find the cause of the noise. They interceded for their neighbour, but the soldiers abused them. Thus it ended in their coming to blows, and the servants, being unable to resist the large number of soldiers who had congregated, beat a retreat into their master's house. Into it came the soldiers to renew the fight, breaking down the house-door. Upon this Thomas Plata seized his weapons, and aided by his servants and the Portuguese who had joined him, began to slay the men directly he saw them, paying respect to none of them. He did great execution, making use of a blunderbuss (*espalhafato*) carrying a good charge, and the courtyard being full of people, he discharged it without interval several times.

At last, seeing that the matter would not terminate until he was destroyed, he ordered the best of his goods to be carried to a boat, and passed out by a door in his house which opened upon the river. He took refuge in the boat with some others who elected to follow him; then putting out into the open, he gave the city a bombardment, and retired to seek a refuge in Arakan. There he said that, if his words were listened to, they might take Ḍhākah and the territory of Bengal.

Dā,ūd Khān, who in addition to his own good judgment had been to school under Aurangzeb, had recourse to the usual deceptions of his master, and wrote a letter to Thomas Plata, telling him that it was now time for him to come back to Ḍhākah. But let him not forget the execution of his agreement to bring with him the head of the Arakan king! He sent this letter in such a way that it should fall into the hands of the said king. When the king had read the letter, being ignorant of the falsehood of Dā,ūd Khān, he fancied that there really was such an agreement between Dā,ūd Khān and Thomas Plata, for he knew the Mogul king was very desirous to acquire Arakan. Therefore orders were given to remove the Englishman's goods out of his boat [77]; all his men were to be bound, and the vessel, along with Thomas Plata, he and his, was to be sent to the bottom. Thus were they got rid of, and Dā,ūd Khān's mind was relieved of the anxiety given him by this man, knowing that he could do great injury to the

province of Bengal if the King of Arakan listened to his proposals.[1]

SHIVĀ JĪ WOUNDS SHĀISTAH KHĀN.

At the beginning of this my second part (II. 15) I said that Aurangzeb had sent his uncle, Shāistah Khān, to make war against Shivā Jī in the Dakhin. As soon as he reached the lands of Shivā Jī he took a small fortress called Pūnā. Outside it he lived in a mud house that he had caused to be built near a tank. There he meant to pass the rainy season.[2]

Shivā Jī sought every means of killing Shāistah Khān, being thus counselled (so they say) by Rajah Jaswant Singh, who would have liked to appropriate the treasury of Shāistah Khān. He (Shivā Jī) came to the resolve to send bold and resolute men among the soldiers and into the dwelling of Shāistah Khān. They were to pretend to be dependents of Shāistah Khān, so that they could carry out the plot in security, and digging through the house wall should slay whatever men and women were found therein.

To put in execution such a plan, he availed himself of the custom among the Moguls of sounding their military music eight times in the day and night upon the anniversary of the king's coronation.[3] This takes place near the headquarters of the general—namely, in the morning at six, at nine, at noon,

[1] I am indebted to Miss M. Anstey for some references in the India Office Records to this Thomas Pratt. In November, 1663, he demanded of the Hūglī Council 192 rupees for 'extraordinary expences at the Durbar,' attendants, diet, etc. He said his expenses were much less than those of the Dutch, and he was really a loser by his office (Factory Records, Hūglī, No. 1). On May 19, 1664, the Council at Sūrat wrote to Hūglī deploring 'the unhappy accident that befell T. P., hee did very rashly to give the occasion, but when he was besett round wee know not what a man may bee provokt to doe, especially when his life is engaged, wee are persuaded to think the Nabob may be reconciled when he shall take into consideration the Cruell attempt made upon him by fyreing the house about his eares' (Factory Records, Sūrat, No. 104). On July 9, 1664, the Hūglī Council stopped Pratt's wages till he cleared himself (Factory Records, Hūglī, No. 1).

[2] See the account of this campaign in Grant-Duff, 'History of the Mahrattahs,' 87, and Khāfī Khān, ii. 172-175; 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 45.

[3] This would be the anniversary of the accession held on the first day of the sixth year, 1st Ramaẓān, 1073 H. (April 9, 1663, N.S.).

at three in the afternoon, at six, at nine, at midnight, and at three of the next day. For his purpose he chose the hour of midnight, at the time the musicians began to play. Some of Shivā Jī's soldiers, pretending to belong to the household of Shāistah Khān, went back and fore saying to the musicians that, as it was a night of rejoicing, the Nawab wished them to make a great sound with their instruments, the whole of them playing together. This was done that no one might hear when they were digging into the house.

The women heard the sound of the picks, and reported to Shāistah Khān. He paid no heed to their statements, being already somewhat elevated by wine, but said the noise was made by troopers driving in pegs for their horses' heel-ropes. Shivā Jī's soldiers entered by the hole they had dug. The women were in consternation, not being accustomed to see men in their apartments; and thus they cried aloud, assuming there must be treachery on foot. The eldest son of Shāistah Khān, called Buzurg Omedcan (Buzurg Umed Khān), ran in that direction sword in hand, but his valour served but to get [78] his head cut off, the soldiers of Shivā Jī using their swords against everyone they encountered.[1] The women perceived there was a design by the enemy to assassinate the Nawāb Shāistah Khān. They lamented, saying that Shāistah Khān was killed, and they blew out the lamps, so that no one might see him.

The enemy rushed hither and thither, and, unable to see, eight of them fell into a tank. Shāistah Khān stood, spear in hand, ready to resist anyone coming at him. On their

[1] Manucci mistakes the name of the son killed, who was Abū,l Fatḥ Khān; Buzurg Umed Khān did not die till the 8th Rajab, 1106 H. (February 22, 1695), when he was governor of Allahābād. The 'Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' ii. 690-702, tells us of Shāistah Khān's doings. He replaced Mu'aẓẓam Khān (Mīr Jumlah) some time in 1069 H. (1659). He took up quarters for the rains at Pūnā, but went out to besiege Chāknah, which was taken after fifty-six days on the 16th Ẕu,l Ḥijjah, third year (August 13, 1661). He then returned to Pūnā. Shivā Jī's attack was early in the sixth year, which began on April 9, 1663. Abu,l Fatḥ Khān was killed. The report was received in Kashmīr on May 8, 1663; Aurangzeb was displeased, and thought Shāistah Khān had been negligent. On May 13, 1663, Prince Mu'aẓẓam started from Kashmīr to replace him in the Dakhin ('ʻĀlamgīr-nāmah,' 819). Shāistah Khān lost his forefinger ('Ma,āṣir-i-ʻĀlamgīrī,' 45).

finding him, he managed to kill one, but another delivered a sword-stroke, which cut off his index finger and severed the spear staff. These daring men heard the voices of the women who were saying that the Nawab was already dead; and concluding they had effected their purpose, they came away to their own camp.

I leave it to the reader to imagine the confusion existing in the camp during that night, everyone imagining that Shivā Jī was in their midst and slaying all men without intermission. In this confusion Shāistah Khān's sufferings from his wound were increased from not being able to call in any surgeon for fear that, in place of a surgeon, some traitor might gain admittance. When Aurangzeb, being then in Kashmīr, received a report of this treachery, it being a little after his hearing the news of Mīr Jumlah's death, he wrote to Shāistah Khān directing him to proceed as governor to Bengal. In reply, Shāistah Khān prayed His Majesty to leave him in the Dakhin, for he longed to wreak vengeance for his son's death and the loss of his limb occasioned by Shivā Jī's treachery. He took upon himself either to lose his own life or to destroy Shivā Jī's army and kill Shivā Jī himself. A fresh order issued from Aurangzeb directing him peremptorily to remove to Bengal, but Shāistah Khān, anxious to gain a reputation for courage and also eager for vengeance, wrote once more to the king asking to be left in the Dakhin, where he would bear all the expenses of the war until Shivā Jī was destroyed. At the same time he wrote to his friends to save him from removal.

His friends at court did loyally all that they could to assist Shāistah Khān, but Aurangzeb was immovable in his determination, and replied with severity that a man in a passion could never act with prudence, that the stay of Shāistah Khān in the Dakhin as leader against Shivā Jī could result in nothing but the loss of his army. He therefore wrote to him once again that without further discussion he must start for Bengal. Thus was Shāistah Khān sent against his will to take charge of the province of Bengal. When Shāistah Khān left the Dakhin, Aurangzeb recalled Jaswant Singh to court, who, [79]

instead of obeying, retired to his own territory. Aurangzeb ordered Mahābat Khān[1] to march with all rapidity possible to take up the office of Shāistah Khān and continue the campaign against Shivā Jī, sending also his own son, Shāh 'Ālam, not as commander, but as representative of the royal person in matters of parade.

A Ridiculous Occurrence.

The holiday in Kashmīr gave rise to a ridiculous affair. Udepūrī, a Georgian by race, who had been formerly a wife of Dārā, became afterwards a much-loved wife of Aurangzeb. She was in the habit of drinking spirits, and that more liberally than discretion allows; thus frequently she was intoxicated. The other wives and concubines were jealous that Aurangzeb was so fond of Udepūrī. They waited until one day this queen was in liquor, then went all in a body to the presence of Aurangzeb. He was pleased at such a visit, chiefly because they came in great glee, and resorted on this occasion to those cajoling ways, which never fail women when they mean to conquer their husbands' heart. After a little talk, they prayed him to call for the attendance of Queen Udepūrī, so that the conversation might take a more elevated tone. He sent a message to his beloved asking her to come and enjoy the cheerful hour. The maidservant replied that Udepūrī was somewhat indisposed.

This answer caused the other ladies to laugh loudly, hoping to arouse the king's suspicions of something wrong. He therefore sent a second message that she should come only to show herself and please the other queens and ladies, who so desired. Once more the servants sent back word that being oppressed by headache she could not leave her apartments. This reply only made those jealous of her to laugh the more, and in this way Aurangzeb in person went to see the patient.

[1] Mahābat Khān, in the fifth year (1662-63), had been removed from Kābul to Gujarāt. In the eleventh year (1668-69) he was sent back to Kābul. His formal appointment to the Dakhin is not recorded; but, after Shivā Jī's attack on Sūrat (1664), Mahābat Khān had an engagement with him in that neighbourhood. Sūrat was in the Gujarāt province (see 'Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' iii. 590, 592, and 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 71). Prince Mu'azzam at this time was about twenty-one.

She was all in disorder, her hair flying loose and her head full of drink. Aurangzeb seated himself by her, and touched her with his hand. Thinking it was her servant-girl she asked (drunk though she was) for more. Aurangzeb was upset by the odour of spirits and by such a request. He came downcast out of her apartments, and, although she did not lose the love he had for her, he turned in a fury upon the doorkeepers, who were bastinadoed for want of vigilance over the gates.

During the time that Aurangzeb was in Kashmīr his usual diversion was going [80] out to hunt, of which he was always very fond. It happened once that, tired out, he sat down in the shade of a tree, having with him only one huntsman, a great favourite, who had formerly served Dārā in the same capacity. They held together conversation on various subjects, and encouraged thereby, the huntsman asked Aurangzeb why he ordered Dārā's head to be cut off. Such a question put the royal person into some fear, and so he answered that it was his (Dārā's) ill luck. Then, rising, he made for the palace, where he commanded that this huntsman should never again appear in his presence. The mere sight of the man acted as a reproof for his unjust deed.

Aurangzeb returns from Kashmīr to Dihlī.

Finding that his stay outside of Hindūstān was not of good augury, and his health having already improved, Aurangzeb decided to return to Dihlī. Marching with the due slowness, he arrived in three hundred and three days at his court in Dihlī. There he learnt that Shāhjahān had sent in search of an European (Frank) physician, but had been unable to obtain one. He (Aurangzeb) judged it was now time to kill his father by poison. He therefore sent him a European who had formerly been doctor to Shāhjahān when he was reigning emperor. At this time the man was his (Aurangzeb's) servant. He expected that Shāhjahān would never distrust such a physician, a man who had before served him a long time. But Shāhjahān refused his services, suspecting what was sure to happen if he did accept. I could give the name of this person, from whom I received several slights while I was in the Mogul kingdom, but

XV. Sultān A'ẓam Shāh, Third Son of Aurangzeb.

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I leave the dead to the good opinion of men and the judgment of God. Since, in thus speaking, I have a fear that the man might be supposed to be Monsieur Bernier, who is sufficiently well known, I add that he is not meant. He was a great friend of mine, nor while in the Mogul country did he practise as a physician. But he gave himself out as a mathematician in the employ of Dānishmand Khān, a Persian by race, who was the most learned man at the court.

The European, whose name I do not record, though he was of no use to Aurangzeb for poisoning Shāhjahān, served to kill for him in that way Khalīlullah Khān, who betrayed Dārā in the first battle and helped Aurangzeb on many occasions; that Khalīlullah Khān, who received a shoe-beating from his wife [81]; and that Khalīlullah Khān, whose tent by order of the eunuch Primavera (Basant), at the fortress of Bhakkar, I covered from my cannon with old shoes and such like. Aurangzeb was already tired of seeing this traitor still alive, and when he was governor of Lāhor he ordered him to court, and replaced him by Ebraimcan (Ibrāhīm Khān)[1] son of Alimerdacan (Alī Mardān Khān). On his arrival at court, the king bestowed on him much honour, and ordered the aforesaid European, in whom Khalīlullah Khān trusted, to dispatch him to another world through some cordial. The poison was very slow, and Khalīlullah Khān was many days in great pain; when he died, his lips, hands, and feet were all black as coal. For this fine action, Aurangzeb made the European a *manṣabdār*, raising him every month to double the pay he already had.[2]

THE ETHIOPIAN AMBASSADOR.

During Aurangzeb's journey from Kashmīr, before he had reached Dihlī, there arrived ambassadors from Ethiopia, from Mecca, and from Baṣrah, to congratulate him on his accession.

[1] Ibrāhīm Khān, son of Amīr-ul-umarā, 'Alī Mardān Khān, †1067 H. (1656-57). He died in 1122 H. (1710-11).

[2] Khalīlullah Khān, son of Mīr Mīrān, Ḥusainī, Ni'amat Ilāhī, Yazdī, died on the 2nd Rajab, 1072 H. (February 22, 1662, N.S.). This is nearly ten months *before* Aurangzeb started for Kashmīr ('Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' i. 775; 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 38; 'Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī,' 1072).

Of all of these embassies I will say something, but as a preliminary I am obliged to warn the reader that I write for love of truth, and thus, although Monsieur Bernier was my great friend, and we carried on a pleasant correspondence, I cannot approve what he has written.[1]

For the Armenian Morad, one of the two men who came as ambassadors from the King of Ethiopia to the Mogul, confided to me one day, when he was a little elevated, what was the truth about the embassy. If there is any truth in the saying *In vino veritas*, we must believe more in a confidence made from friend to friend than in the pomposities recited to Dānishmand Khan. It is not uncommon that one who poses as an ambassador should, in the company of the great, give himself importance, and having to speak of kingdoms and lands afar off, and of unknown kings, should say the thing that will the most profit him. But when his talk is with a friend, who can do him no harm, such a person may allow himself more scope in letting out the truth. What was recounted by him who gave himself out as an Ethiopian ambassador is not simply a story told me by a man who had been drinking, but he has since confirmed it at a time when he was quite sober. The matter runs as follows:

Morad the Armenian had already some acquaintance with India, and on the accession of a [82] new king, he thought the time had come for him to practise some deception. For this he joined with a Mahomedan merchant, an Arab by birth, a very trustworthy man, who had a number of correspondents; and these two traded jointly from Ethiopia to Arabia and Hindūstān, and from Hindūstān to Ethiopia.

It is necessary to know that the King of Ethiopia calls himself the king of musical instruments, and claims that no king can possess such instruments without his permission. Confiding in this his belief, he orders his music to play after he has dined, thereby permitting other kings and princes to sound their drums and set their music playing. These cunning merchants made use of this mad idea of the Ethiopian to put their plot into execution. They made a pretence of upholding

[1] For the Ethiopian Embassy, see Bernier, pp. 133-144.

the glory of their king, and going to him said that in the Mogul country was a new king, who had excellent instruments at his court, without having applied for leave to possess such royal insignia. The king told them they must visit the Mogul land and demand surrender of those instruments, and produce them before him.

These words were enough for the merchants to equip themselves for that embassy, buying slaves, male and female, for sale. As presents for the king they carried with them horses, and a mule striped naturally in various colours, so beautiful that a tiger could not be striped in a more lovely manner. I saw the skin of this mule, which died in Arabia near Mecca; and of a truth it was a wondrous thing, fit to be presented to any great ruler. Furthermore, they provided two elephant tusks, very handsome, to lift one of which four men had as much as they could do. Also they had some horns of oxen, full of civet. They forged letters wherein the King of Ethiopia demanded from the Mogul the instruments, a few books on the Mahomedan faith, and some contribution towards the restoration of a mosque founded in honour of a Darvesh, who had died in Ethiopia after coming from Mecca to preach Mahomedanism. The mosque had been destroyed by the Portuguese when they were in Ethiopia assisting the king in the suppression of a Mahomedan rebellion. The plotters then left Ethiopia on their fictitious embassy.

I suppose that everyone of sober judgment will decide that this embassy was fictitious, simply from the requests entered in the letter. It is unheard of that a great king like that of Ethiopia should send to ask money to build a mosque. I [83] am willing to admit that the King of Ethiopia might have desired books on the Mahomedan faith, and for that reason might send a request to the Mogul king. Although, had such been his purpose, he could have sent to the Grand Seignior for them, who could more easily have given them, having under his rule the holy men of Mecca. These use the Arabic language, called the Sacred Tongue because Muḥammad spoke it, and in it is written the Qurān. It must not be translated into any other language, and from Mecca could be obtained the most

exquisite exemplars. But to send a request for contributions to repair a mosque, that is a thing incredible! I do not say here that the King of Ethiopia wanted to become a Mahomedan, but I will admit the first part in order to show that the second has no substance. Thus it does not appear to me that Monsieur Bernier had any reason, in his second book, so greatly to decry the King of Ethiopia on account of this embassy. He knew not how clever were the inventions of these ambassadors. Aware that Aurangzeb was a strong Mahomedan, and anxious to propagate this accursed faith, as can be seen in my history, they selected this bridge to arrive at Aurangzeb's favour. He made it his glory to use such openings, and to pose as a spreader of the Mahomedan religion. Nor did he leave them without reward on finding that the King of Ethiopia was said to look on him as a zealous Mahomedan.

These feigned ambassadors reached Mecca (? Mokah), where they sold some men and women slaves and some horses to procure funds for continuing their journey. In a short time they reached Sūrat. There they sold one hornful of civet, retaining the empty horn. At this time Shivā Jī came to Sūrat,[1] and in seven days sacked the city, took from the ambassadors the elephant's tusks, the horses, the other horn full of civet, and all the merchandise they had. With them was left nothing but the empty horn, the mule's hide, the letters, and some slaves. In this state they were forced to ask the governor of Sūrat for some help in money, in order to continue their route as far as the court. The governor, looking on them as genuine ambassadors, gave them assistance in money, and thus they arrived at Dihlī at the time that I was there.

Aurangzeb received the letter of the governor of Sūrat, in which was given an account of these ambassadors [84] and their misfortunes at Sūrat. To tell the truth this—that is, being plundered by Shivā Jī—was the best thing that could have happened to secure them a reception at, and a favourable dispatch from, the court. On other conditions, seeing the few presents they brought, it would have been exceedingly difficult

[1] According to Grant-Duff, 'History of the Mahrattahs,' 89, this was on January 5, 1664 (O.S.).

to obtain a royal audience. Often it is of profit to be in misery, and frequently do mishaps lead to good-fortune! These ambassadors, despoiled and almost naked, were very dirty and drinkers of *jāgra*.[1] This last is a kind of black sugar given to horses and elephants. It was chiefly the Armenian who was a great amateur of this beverage. They had no money to hire a house, but put up in the public *sarāe;* and walked the streets, having no palanquin. When the Armenian met an acquaintance, he would draw from him some present to equip himself; and through dysentery caused by *jāgra*, of which they drank so liberally, they lost several slaves.

Monsieur Bernier favoured them in various matters, principally by speaking to Dānishmand K͟hān, his disciple. This man was advocate in the cause of all the ambassadors who came to the Mogul country. Thus they obtained an audience. There the king conferred on each a *sarāpā* (robes) of brocade, and directed that the sums necessary for their subsistence while at court should be disbursed. A short time afterwards they were allowed to depart, again receiving *sarāpā* (robes), and six thousand rupees—two thousand to the Armenian, and four thousand to the Arab. By this division Aurangzeb wished to favour more the latter, being of his own religion, although he had a very ugly face and was very short. If the King of Ethiopia had really sent an embassy, it is certain that he would never have selected such an ugly being.[2]

In addition he gave them a rich *sarāpā* (robes) for the King of Ethiopia, and two trumpets of silver-gilt, with two kettle-drums and a *canja* (k͟hanjar), which is a poignard, covered with rubies. Here be it noted how diverse are the intentions of man! The King of Ethiopia sent to claim these instruments

[1] *Jāgra* (Yule, 446*a*, 446*b*, 924*b*), coarse brown or almost black sugar, made from the sap of various palms.

[2] The official account is that in the eighth year, 1075 H. (began March 19, 1665, N.S.), Sīdī Kāmil, envoy of the ruler of Ḥabshah, and Saiyid 'Abdullah, envoy of the ruler of Ḥadramaut, with letters and presents, arrived before the Emperor. They received *k͟hila'ts* and money gifts. Nine Arab horses, sent by Imām Isma'il, ruler of Yaman, were produced. The audience of leave-taking was on the 17th Shawwāl, 1075 H. (May 4, 1665, N.S.) ('Ma‚āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 49, 50).

as the would-be lord thereof, and because the Mogul possessed them without his previous consent; while Aurangzeb sent them in quite another spirit, declaring by this action that this king was his vassal. For it is the practice, when the Mogul king gives nobility to any of his subjects, for him to confer robes, trumpets, and drums. In addition, he gave them twenty thousand gold coins and rupees, and told them that he sent this money to their king because he was told there were not any such coins in Ethiopia.

It was thoroughly understood that this money was not meant to reach Ethiopia, but was to be expended in the purchase of merchandise, as was really done. They bought different cloth-pieces and woollens for export to Ethiopia, some lengths of cotton decorated in gold and silver, also some pieces of silk ornamented with flowers, stuffs very rare in their country. He also gave them a considerable sum to be spent on the mosque, which money was also expended on goods; and he added a Qurān and other books, those most esteemed among Mahomedans. Thus did the feigned ambassadors succeed in their enterprise. They came to the Mogul country poor and despoiled, and now turned their faces towards Ethiopia with considerable wealth; mocking at two powerful kings—at one because they sacrificed his honour through the petitions they laid before the Mogul; at the other, because with lies and impostures they extracted from him a large amount of cash.

AMBASSADORS OF THE GRAND SHARĪF OF MEKKAH.

The Grand Sharīf of Mekkah, who is the head of all the Mahomedans, repented himself of not having accepted the money that Aurangzeb had sent to Mekkah early in his reign. The excuse had been that they could not accept such offerings from a son whose father was still alive. He now sent to Aurangzeb an embassy to offer congratulations on his accession, since there was by this time no one who contested the throne with him. The envoys were to find out if Aurangzeb would

consent to renew the offering that he had before sent (II. 1).[1]

The Sharīf sent as present for the king a broom that had been used to sweep the tomb of Muḥammad, and with it a little of the dust. Along with these gifts were sent some Arab horses. Aurangzeb received these ambassadors and their presents with great consideration. He redoubled his finesse on this occasion, displaying the greatest solemnity at the mere sight of the broom and the dust. He uttered a thousand praises of Muḥammad and the broom, and pretended he was sorry he had not the honour of serving as sweeper of such a highly-esteemed place. Furthermore, he said nothing about the money he had forwarded to Mekkah [86], but told Dānishmand Khān to speak to the envoys about it, and inform them that, finding the Sharīf did not care to accept the money, he had already applied it to other objects. He believed that Muḥammad must have approved his good intention. Thus in a few days the ambassadors obtained their dismissal, carrying away more in the nature of honour than of presents.

Embassy from Baṣrah.

The embassy from Baṣrah made no great stir, although the Prince of Baṣrah sent his congratulations on Aurangzeb's accession, along with several very handsome Arab horses, which are much esteemed. But the chief object of the embassy was the sending of other Arab horses for sale, and to buy cloth and piece goods without having to pay dues either on entry or export, which is the usual liberty allowed to ambassadors. This embassy, on receiving its farewell interview, was paid its expenses. Nothing more was said of them beyond their having brought some horses, which they sold well, nearly all of them having been purchased on the king's account.

Although the orders given by Aurangzeb to the European

[1] For what Bernier says, see 'Travels,' 133. The official account is in the 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 49. In Ramaẓān, 1075 H., beginning of the eighth year (March 19, 1665), Ḥājī Aḥmad Sa'īd, who had been sent in the fourth year (1662-63) to Mekkah with 6,60,000 rupees, returns, bringing fourteen Arab horses, and Sīdī Yaḥyā, envoy from Mekkah, received audience.

physician to kill Shāhjahān by poison were secret, yet the people observed that Shāhjahān refused to take the man into his service. Thus they suspected something, and in this way talk against Aurangzeb once more prevailed, on account of the barbarities with which he was treating the old man. Nor did they fail to say that he was now without a competitor, and ought to seek his father's friendship and beg for his father's pardon, since, although Shāhjahān was a worldly man, he remained all the same his father; nor was there any apparent crime for which he (Shāhjahān) could merit to be so hated by him he had created. Already they had resumed their open talk against Aurangzeb, and it was publicly said that God had given strength to Shivā Jī to inflict chastisement for such harshness.

Aurangzeb feared a rebellion, as old troubles seemed to be renewed; he therefore proceeded to secure his father's pardon. He wrote him letters, in appearance most loving, filled with repentances, wherein he entreated him pressingly for pardon and friendship. Shāhjahān declined to accept these protestations, the evil nature [87] of Aurangzeb being sufficiently obvious. Not for this did Aurangzeb desist, but rather, pretending to be importunate, wrote more letters with more endearments, sending presents which delighted Shāhjahān, such as hunting-gazelles, which fought together; hawks and horses, which also were used to fight each other. In addition, he asked his advice on various matters which had arisen in the kingdom. He told him he wished to live as an obedient son, but must be granted pardon for what he had done, there being no remedy for it now.

To this Shāhjahān replied with somewhat of resentment, although in appearance he seemed mollified. His answer was that he did not mind other things, but he could not excuse the barbarity by which Aurangzeb made his few remaining years of life weigh heavily on him by sending to him the head of his beloved son Dārā. Not contenting himself with having committed that piece of cruelty, he (Aurangzeb) had often designed the death of him, his father. How many times had he been obliged to behold the sepulchre of his cherished spouse, Tāj Maḥal, where, simply to grieve him, he (Aurangzeb) had

sent the head of his brother Dārā for interment after his barbarous beheadal. Therefore he (Aurangzeb) might rest assured that never could he obtain pardon for such wrong-doing. Nevertheless, as a token that he conceded a little something in the way of pardon and affection, he sent him some of the jewels which he had kept by him. Aurangzeb was satisfied, hoping by this concession to let the people suppose that his father had pardoned him.

Chāṭgāṇw is Taken.

After the departure of the ambassadors, Aurangzeb received as a congratulation on his return to Dihlī three hundred cart-loads of silver and fifty of gold from Shāistah Kh̲ān.[1] They were sent as the revenues of Bengal, collected by Mīr Jumlah. Aurangzeb, as a recognition of good service, sent him (Shāistah Kh̲ān) an order to extirpate the pirates who plundered and disturbed the lands of Bengal. They were sheltered in Chāṭgāṇw, a place granted them by the King of Arakan as a defence against the design, long entertained by the Mogul [88] kings, of conquering that kingdom. It was no slight matter they had before them in dealing with these Portuguese, men hard of heart, accustomed to kill even little children without a regret. They boasted among themselves of having reached the very acme of evil-doing. If anyone undertook to speak of these men, of their violence, and of their barbarous habits, he would find enough to fill several books. They were proud of their Christianity, but had of it no more than the name. Such was their cruelty that they did not even spare the priests who lived among them, and were little different from themselves. There were then alive some who had known a priest of some religious order who had acted as their leader. He went clothed in scarlet, and was

[1] After 28th Sha'bān of the ninth year, 1077 (February 23, 1667), it was reported that in three days the fort of Chāṭgāṇw, by the exertions of Amīr-ul-Umarā (*i.e.*, Shāistah Kh̲ān), had been taken. It was renamed Islāmābād. Amīr-ul-Umarā, and his son Buzurg Umed Kh̲ān, and other leaders, received rewards ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgirī,' 54). For Bernier's account, see 'Travels,' 181, 182, and a reference there to *Calcutta Review*, liii. 1871.

called Frey Vicente,[1] who, recommended by a letter from Shāh Shujā', came to Bengal and died there of poison.

It was granted to Shāistah Khān to put an end to these men. This came about through the help of Antonio de Rego, a resident of Hūglī. This man had at Chāṭgāṇw a brother named Sebastiaõ Gonsalves,[2] who was the commander of these robbers. Shāistah Khān sent for Antonio de Rego, and held a long conversation with him. He requested him as a favour to help in the execution of the royal orders. He pledged his word that he and his brother should be well treated and receive high pay. Meanwhile he paid him twenty-five thousand rupees as a present, and fifty thousand rupees on account for his brother, on condition that Chāṭgāṇw was delivered to him. The undertaking was made the easier by some of the Farangīs having assassinated a great prince of Arakan, whereby the inhabitants feared the vengeance of that king and the destruction of Chāṭgāṇw. Sebastiaõ Gonsalves wrote to his brother inviting the Mogul fleet to come as far as the island of Sundiva (Sandwīpa).[3] He would find some method of handing over Chāṭgāṇw, but the fact must be kept secret. They must not delay. It was done accordingly; and without any loss of life Chāṭgāṇw fell into the hands of the Moguls. Shāistah Khān fulfilled his word, giving high pay to the principal men among the Farangīs. Thus was Bengal delivered from these attacks.

[1] Possibly the same as Bernier's Fra Joan, Augustinian (p. 179).

[2] Sebastian Gonzalves Tibao, formerly a common sailor, is mentioned in Bernier, 178, as a Farangī leader about 1632 (see also Constable's note). Stewart, 'History of Bengal,' 206-210, relying on Manuel de Faria y Souza, gives many details, but he makes this man flourish in 1607 (see the text of 'Asia Portuguesa,' Lisbon, 1675, iii. 175, years 1605-9, and 269, year 1615). Gonzalves *might* have been alive as late as 1665-66; but more probably Manucci got the name of Gonzalves from Faria y Souza's work (to which he had access), and, postdating the story, adapted it to Shāistah Khān's capture of Chāṭgāṇw.

[3] Sundiva (Sandwīpa) was held by Sebastian Gonzalves. It is a fertile island lying at the mouth of the Megnā River, and abounding in cattle; it is about eighteen miles long, and six broad. Lat. 20° 30′, long. 91° 32′ (Thornton, 'Gazetteer,' 944).

The King widens the Gates of Dihlī.

Finding himself delivered from many dangers, and only the war against [89] Shivā Jī on his hands (and of that he thought very lightly), Aurangzeb took it into his head to confer a benefit on the people. He knew that the gates of Dihlī towards Lāhor were not sufficiently wide to allow entrance to the large quantity of supplies that came from that direction. Frequently horsemen were obliged to wait a long time at the gate; and several times the king himself, on his way to hunt, was forced to retrace his steps, not being able to pass. He issued an order for three gates to be made at this place. To carry this out it was necessary to knock down several mansions, the cost of which was paid for by the king without hesitation.

About this time he also sent an order to build at his charges a wall in the nature of a bastion to protect the city of Lāhor from the river then encroaching on it. This wall had a length of a league and a half. Also, because Shivā Jī was plundering in all directions in the kingdom of the Dakhin, he gave an order that, without oppressing the people, walls should be built round the cities of Aurangābād and Burhānpur, which about this time had been sacked by Shivā Jī. He had carried off four hundred Mahomedan girls because the Mahomedans had interfered with Hindū women in his territories. To make a mock of Shivā Jī, the Mahomedans had killed cows in temples; in retaliation he, too, ordered the throats of pigs to be cut in the mosques of the Mahomedans. This was to demonstrate his valour and power of defying the Mogul armies.

In these days there fell a meteorolite, the size of a large pot, close to the city of Ujjain, which lies near the Rānā's boundary. The governor, with the idea of doing a thing that would please Aurangzeb, had the stone dug out of the ground and sent it to the Dihlī court. But the king, with a show of complying with the counsels of God, would not look at this marvel, but ordered it to be carried back and placed where it had been taken from. He said that it was not right to oppose the will

of God, who knew wherefore He had sent this aerolite to that particular place.

By this time the memory of Dārā was so buried that no one spoke any longer of him, when an order was sent to demolish the famous palace of that prince at Lāhor.[1] On the site of the palace a great mosque was to be erected, and it took ten years to finish this work of devoutness. Upon it was spent the sum that Aurangzeb had sent [90] to Mekkah, which the Sharīf would not receive because Shāhjahān was living, as I have already mentioned more than once (II., fols. 1, 84). Thus was he enabled to fulfil the vow he had made of an offering on behalf of Muḥammad.

RAJAH JAI SINGH PROCEEDS AGAINST SHIVĀ JĪ.

Although at first Aurangzeb did not pay much attention to the war against Shivā Jī, still, he could not help noticing that this prince was continuously increasing in strength. He either captured Mogul forts or appropriated towns belonging to Bījāpur. Mahābat Khān, in spite of having a large army, could not restrain the fury of this robber. While Mahābat Khān was investing a fortress, Shivā Jī went off once more and plundered Ṣūrat.

Aurangzeb called to his presence Rajah Jai Singh, in whose prudence and valour he had great confidence, and in a friendly way said he could no longer endure the insults of Shivā Jī; therefore he had come to the resolve that he would go in person against this rebel. For it was necessary either that he should go on this campaign, or that Rajah Jai Singh should undertake to suppress Shivā Jī. Rajah Jai Singh, with due politeness, replied to Aurangzeb that if His Majesty would deign to take a rest, and do him the honour of appointing him to this expedition, he would take upon himself the defeat of Shivā Jī, would repress his assaults, and, if necessary, His Majesty so requiring, would deliver him into his hands alive.

Upon receiving this answer, Aurangzeb took off the small

[1] The 'Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' i. 158, tells us that a fine house was built at Lāhor by Yamīn-ud-daulah, Āṣaf Khān; he bequeathed it to Shāhjahān, by whom it was given to Dārā Shukoh.

cabaya (*qabā*) he was wearing next his body and gave it to the rajah to put on, and taking from his neck the necklace of pearls that he usually wore, placed it round his neck, adding that he might choose the commanders to serve under him on this expedition. But it was necessary to make haste, for in energy consisted all good performance. The rajah came out of the presence of Aurangzeb, and at once sent for cavalry from his territory, and sixty lakhs of rupees.[1] Every ten lakhs makes a million; thus he brought six millions of rupees to provide for expenses in addition to the large sums given him by Aurangzeb. The rajah chose as his second in command the renowned Diler Khān,[2] who took part in all the important wars waged by Aurangzeb. With him went Dā,ūd Khān,[2] formerly Governor of Paṭnah and temporary viceroy of Bengal, of whom I have already spoken. Along with these went many rajahs and brave captains [91].

The king having arrived at Dihlī from Kashmīr, I went several times to make my bow to Rajah Jai Singh, who took a fancy to me, and in the end requested me to teach him how to play Hombre, as I had already done to his son, Queretsing (Kīrat Singh).[3] Several times we played together, and we two won from the said rajah some sums of money. At this time Rajah Jai Singh said he had need of me. He wanted me to join him in this most important enterprise, and he would make me commander of his artillery. For this purpose I must search for Europeans I knew, and who were good soldiers. Afterwards he would entrust other business to me. Meanwhile he fixed my pay at ten rupees a day. I could not resist his proposal, and I had great trust in his word; nor did I like

[1] Jai Singh's appointment to the Dakhin was made in the seventh year, 1074 H., after the 21st Qa'dah, or June 16, 1664 ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī, 48, line 16).

[2] For Diler Khān, see *ante*, note to I. 167, and for Dā,ūd Khān, *ante*, note to I. 209.

[3] Kīrat Singh seems to have been the second son. He died in Rabī' II., 1084 H. (July, 1673), six years after his father. Kīrat Singh's daughter married 'Aẓīm-ush-shān, second son of Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam, Shāh 'Ālam, son and successor of 'Ālamgīr Aurangzeb. This lady became the mother of Muḥammad Karīm, killed 1124 H. (1712) ('Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' ii. 156, and 'Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī,' year 1084 H.).

to offend him at such a time. For I had not yet the boldness to announce myself as a physician. He gave me a rich *sarāpā* (set of robes), and a good horse, with sufficient money for my equipment.

Everything having been arranged, we quitted Dihlī with a strong force. Aurangzeb ordered Mahābat Khān to return to the government of Gujarāt, and Bahādur Khān,[1] the king's foster-brother, was ordered to return to court. At this time happened an amusing affair. Bahādur Khān, as the king's foster-brother, had been lifted from an obscure position to that of a general. He had become very high and mighty and vain-glorious. Everyone arriving from court was asked eagerly as to the king's health, not calling him by his title, but speaking of him as his brother; thus he used to say, 'How is my brother?' Mahābat Khān decided to teach him a lesson. On reaching Gujarāt, he took his seat in his tent and arranged with his foster-brother that when Bahādur Khān was there he should, richly clad and with an aigrette of gold stuck into his turban, gallop past on a fine horse, acting the braggart, as if on his way to his own quarters. Bahādur Khān wondered at this performance, and asked who was that mighty warrior. Mahābat Khān did not use the man's name, but, assuming an innocent air, he said briefly: 'These foster-brothers are shameless creatures, and have no tact in what they do. They fancy that, being our broṭhers by milk, they are equal members of our house!' Bahādur Khān quite saw the hit, but pretended not to. Nor by this was he turned from his line of conduct. For the proverb is a true one: 'However many stratagems a man possesses, they sooner or later ruin him' [92].

Two things happened to me during this march. The first was that, being dressed in the costume of the country, I fastened my gown or *cabaya* (*qabā*) on the right side, as is the fashion of Mahomedans. The Hindūs fasten theirs on the left. I also went with my beard shaved, wearing only moustaches like the

[1] The only trace of Bahādur Khān's (Khān Jahān, Kokaltāsh) service at this time in those parts is in the 'Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' i. 801, where he is said, in the tenth year (1667-68), to have replaced Mahābat Khān in the government of Gujarāt, which extended as far south as Sūrat.

Rājpūts, but without pearls hanging from my ears as they have. The Rājpūt officers wondered at this get-up, neither Rājpūt nor Mahomedan. They asked me what religion I belonged to; I replied that I was of the Christian religion. Once more they asked me whether I was a Mahomedan Christian or a Hindū Christian. For they recognise no other religions than these in Hindūstān. I seized the opportunity to tell them a little about our faith.

The other matter was that one day Rajah Jai Singh asked me whether in Europe there were armies, wars, and squadrons. I replied to him that the bravery with which the Farangīs fought, of which I was an example, sufficed to show him that we in Europe knew what war and fighting meant. We were accustomed to fight in two ways, one by sea, the other by land. That upon the sea took place thus:

A number of planks are joined together by nails in the form of a large enclosed house, with many cannon in tiers. Entering into the said house, the soldiers attach huge cloths to masts, and driven by the winds, these serve to put the said house in motion. The course is regulated by a large plank fixed on the house, and capable of movement from one side to another. In this way, with good matchlocks, pistols, and swords, and a sufficient supply of food, of powder, and of ball, they set out in search of their enemies. When they encounter one, the fight begins with the firing of cannon, which breaks the masts or makes holes in the said house, allowing entrance to the water. But those who are within assemble and with skill plug the hole. For this they always have materials ready.

Meanwhile some attend to the vessel, and others fight without intermission. The dead bodies are thrown into the sea, so that they may not hinder the fight. Nor are there wanting surgeons to aid the wounded, who are carried to a room specially set apart. As their courage grows hotter, they bring the vessels nearer, emptying all their matchlocks and pistols [93], until at length the fight waxing still fiercer, they grapple one with the other; then the sword-blows scatter streams of blood, reddening the sea. There being no mode of flight for the fighters,

it is therefore necessary to conquer or die. Sometimes it happens that the captain who is losing, resolving not to be overcome, orders all his cannon and other pieces to be double-shotted. He then sets fire to the ship's magazine of powder; thus he destroys himself along with the others. The rajah wondered at such a mode of warfare, and it seemed to him very hard and very cruel that a man, if he did not want to defend himself, could not even run away.

The other mode of fighting was on land. There the foot soldiers were separated from the squadrons of horse, and all had their matchlocks and swords. Those who were mounted had good carbines, pistols, and swords. When I was giving this account, finding some pikes or spears there, I exhibited how the spearmen stood in front of the companies to hinder the cavalry from getting in and throwing into disorder the well-ordered ranks of the infantry. Thus the battle would commence with great order and discipline, the cavalry helping wherever it was necessary to repress an onslaught of the enemy. Many a thing did we tell him of our fighting in the open country. Upon this he set to laughing, assuming us to have no horses in our country, and thus we could know nothing of fighting on horseback.

For this reason we agreed, I and Luis Beiçaõ, a French surgeon, Guilherme (William), an Englishman,[1] and Domingo de Saã, a Portuguese who had formerly been a cavalry soldier in Portugal, to give the next morning during the march, and in the rajah's presence, a demonstration of our mode of fighting on horseback. We rode out with our carbines, two pistols in our holsters and two in our waist-belts, and carrying our swords. We rode two and two and began to career about, our horses being excellent. Then first of all we skirmished with the carbine, and after some circling and recircling, letting off our pistols, we made pretence of flight and pursuit. Then, turning round and making a half-circle, the fugitive attacked the pursuer and let off his pistol. Thus we went on till all our charges were fired off, of course without bullets. Then, laying hand

[1] 'William, an Englishman,' may be identical with the William Gates of Sloane MS., 811, in the British Museum.

upon our swords [94], we made gestures as if giving sword-cuts, which the others parried.

The rajah, who was on his elephant, halted, and when our display was finished, we rode up and made our bow. He asked what meant these excursions and alarms. I replied that purposely we had done this to let him see that we knew how to fight on horseback in the European way. He asked me several times if really they fought like that in Europe. I answered that this was only a small specimen. We would show him sport when it came to reality, observing the same order; and if there were on the field dead men or horses, we should ride over them as if riding on a carpet, and make no account of them. He praised our way of fighting, saying he thought it a sound mode of warfare, and he should like to form a troop of European cavalry if I could obtain them. I answered that it was not easy to get so many men in Hindūstān who had been trained in our wars. He then gave us our leave with a good present, and thenceforth thought more of European nations, who, if it were not for their drinking habits, would be held in high estimation, and could aid our kings to carry out some project there.

Death of Shāhjahan.

While Rajah Jai Singh was halted in Brampur (Burhānpur) awaiting the army which was following us, he received the news of Shāhjahān's death, which happened in the following manner.[1] Noromgabadi (Aurangābādī), wife of Shāhjahān, had two lovely maid-servants, one Āftāb, which means 'Sun,' and the other Mahtāb—that is to say, 'Moon.' Finding that Shāhjahān was attracted by them, she gave them to him for his amusement.

One day Shāhjahān was in front of a mirror adjusting his moustaches, and these two women were standing behind him. One made a sign to the other, as if mocking the old man who wanted to get himself up as a youth. Shāhjahān saw the gesture, and, touched in his reputation, had recourse to drugs

[1] Shāhjahān died in the night between Sunday and Monday, the 26th Rajab, 1076 H. (February 1, 1666, N.S.) ('Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī,' year 1076).

to maintain his strength in his accustomed vices. By these his bladder was so weakened that a retention of urine came on. For this no remedy could be found, he being now an old man and much enfeebled. At the same time [95] he brought to mind what the *faqīr* with the two apples had said. This was when he was Prince Corrum (Khurram), and was at Juner, in Bījāpur territory (I. 119), and it was to the effect that when his death approached he would lose the smell of apples on his hands. Recognising that this had come true, he lost heart about his living longer, and thus came to an end in a short time.

When I'tibār Khān sent the report to court, Aurangzeb called to mind the subterfuges by which Shāhjahān, being then Sulṭān Khurram, gave out that he was dead, and thereby gained the throne. Might he not have sought a similar method for getting out of prison and recovering the kingdom? Aurangzeb therefore sent a trusty man to pass a heated iron rod over his father's feet, and if the body did not stir, then to pierce the skull down to the throat, to make quite certain that he was really dead. Orders were sent to I'tibār Khān not to allow his burial until the arrival of Aurangzeb in person.[1] He journeyed quickly by river, for it was of great importance to him to be delivered of this uneasiness, and he cloaked his ill-will under the shadow of filial piety, in the hope that the populace would cease to whisper.

Arrived at Āgrah, Aurangzeb put up at the mausoleum of Tāj Maḥal, and there awaited his father's body. It was not carried out through the palace entrance; through a hole made in the wall they brought it out head first, this being a superstition among the Mogul kings, I know not the reason why. Begam Ṣāḥib sent two thousand gold coins to be given to the poor, but the guards seized the whole, saying that prisoners could not give away anything. On the arrival of the corpse at the tomb, Aurangzeb prayed and showed much devoutness, wiping his eyes as if he wept. Thus he found himself arrived at the object of his desires in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-five (correctly, 1666), that father being now buried whose

[1] Aurangzeb left for Āgrah by river on 9 Sha'ban (February 14), 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 53, 54.

death he had so long desired, and to shorten whose life he had sought so many expedients.

At the conclusion of the ceremony Aurangzeb went into the fort, when Begam Ṣāḥib came out to meet him. After the usual obeisances she presented to him the letter of pardon that, as she said, she had obtained from Shāhjahān, her father, together with the valuable and ancient jewels remaining under his control. This was all the service she could do for her brother, for whom she had wearied herself enough, without much profit, for some time past. Aurangzeb was satisfied [96], although he had grounds for suspecting that the said letter was a forgery; nevertheless, it was enough to justify him with the populace. To those maid-servants and ladies who were not wives of Shāhjahān he gave permission to marry freely anyone they pleased. He took Begam Ṣāḥib away with him to Dihlī, conferring on her the title of Pacha Begam (Bādshāh Begam)—that is, 'Empress of Princesses.' He allowed her to live in her own mansion, a concession he would not grant to Roshan Ārā Begam. Begam Ṣāḥib's rank was maintained as before, and her beloved Jānī Begam, daughter of Dārā, was left with her. The wives of Shāhjahān were sent into retirement in the palace for royal widows.[1]

Here is the place to speak of Shāhjahān's elephant called Khāliqdād, as I have promised (II. 7). Hearing a great noise being made in the tomb of Tāj Maḥal in preparation for the burial of his master, this elephant grew fierce and restless, when the driver who had charge of him came up and said to him, 'Unhappy Khāliqdād! What will become of thee now that he who was thy master is dead? What is there for thee now but to die too? for no one will take the trouble to look after thee!' On hearing these words, the elephant began to gather dust with his trunk and throw it on his head. Then with groans and cries he fell on the ground and died, just as if he recognised his evil destiny, and took his departure as one forsaken.

[1] The so-called 'Suhāgpurah,' I presume, or 'Hamlet of Happy Wives,' one of the *Kārkhānahs*, or divisions of the royal establishment at Dihlī.

AURANGZEB SENDS AN AMBASSADOR TO PERSIA.

After the funeral of Shāhjahān Aurangzeb determined to send an ambassador to Shāh 'Abbās, King of Persia. The real reason for such an embassy was not disclosed. But it was commonly conceived that it was to establish peace and friendship with the King of Persia. He apprehended that this sovereign might make war upon him, as he had upon Shāhjahān. On his side Aurangzeb intended to overcome Bījāpur and Gulkandah, to tempt fortune by an attack on China, to eject the Rānā from his territory, and to occupy the kingdoms of Arakan and Pegū, which barred the door to his enterprises.

The ambassador that he selected was [97] Tarbietcan (Tarbīyat Khān),[1] an Uzbak, a large, tall man with a huge beard, and possessed of good judgment, being a man of great learning.[2] As presents Aurangzeb sent many pieces of Indian cloth highly adorned and very costly, and several elephants. With the embassy went the usual officials, a *wāqi'ah-navīs* and a *khufiyah-navīs*, who are the public reporter and the secret reporter. The ambassador arranged matters so that on his arrival in Iṣfahān he received fresh mangoes. This is an Indian fruit not grown in Persia. He also received there fresh betel, a leaf that, on mastication, gives an agreeable odour to the mouth,

[1] About 11th Rabī' II. of the sixth year, 1074 H. (November 12, 1663), Tarbīyat Khān was sent with a reply to the letter from Shāh 'Abbās brought by Budāq Beg, and carried presents to Persia valued at seven lakhs of rupees. In the ninth year, about the 14th Rabī' I., 1077 H. (September 14, 1666), a report was received from Tarbīyat Khān, envoy to Persia. He exposed the ill-will, foolishness, ignorance, and bad temper of Shāh 'Abbās, and his attempts to fly higher than his wings had strength for. He was proposing an invasion of Khurāsān; further particulars were given on the envoy's return to the Indian Court. Aurangzeb determined to teach a lesson to that stirrer-up of needless strife. To begin with, Prince Mu'aẓẓam and Jaswant Singh were told off, and Aurangzeb said he would proceed to the Panjāb himself; and, as Tarbīyat Khān had committed faults, he was denied an audience ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 48, 56). This return embassy is apparently not mentioned by Bernier.

[2] Shafī'ullah, Birlās, entitled Tarbīyat Khān, was born in Central Asia, and died as Faujdār of Jaunpur on the 27th Sha'bān, 1096 H. (July 30, 1685), or 1097 H. as the 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī' says, p. 261, line 3, or, as some assert, in 1098 H. ('Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī,' year 1096; see also 'Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' i. 493).

and is comforting to the stomach. I spoke of it in the First Part of my History (I. 39) upon my arrival in Ṣūrat. They have none of this leaf in Persia.

The ambassador was well received upon his entry into Iṣfahān; but he did not receive equal honour in the presence of Shāh 'Abbās. When permission to appear in audience had been given to him, the king recollected what Aurangzeb had done to his ambassador. He now took a twofold revenge. The first was he received him while mounted on horseback, as he was coming from the court on a promenade. In this way the wretched Tarbīyat Khān was forced to follow the king on foot for some distance. Then he was told to go away and take some rest; he would be sent for another time. This was the first mouthful the ambassador had to swallow. He was forced to wait for about a year before he obtained leave to depart.

In this interval he was sent for several times to the court, where they treated him with much less respect than Persian subjects were treated. His going to court served for no purpose but to expose him to the king's contempt. They merely made a mock of him and of Aurangzeb. One day, speaking of Aurangzeb's hypocrisy, Shāh 'Abbās called him his slave, as the Persians are used to do in naming Indians. Another time he scoffed at the complexion and customs of the people of Hindūstān. Thus many months elapsed.

One day, speaking about the reception given by Aurangzeb to his ambassador, Shāh 'Abbās complained of the unusual ceremonial. Among other things they said to Tarbīyat Khān that the Blackamoor (meaning Aurangzeb) ought not to forget that it was the kings of Persia who established his family in Hindūstān; for without their help never [98] would his ancestor, Humāyūn, have returned there as king. The ambassador answered that it was the truth, but equally should the Shāh recollect that his predecessors were given the kingdom of Persia by Taimūr-i-lang. Shāh 'Abbās was amused at such an answer, and as a reward made him drink a cup of wine by force. It was not a little of an insult to the ambassador to see himself forced to do such a thing.

Having exhausted their stock of jests with the ambassador,

when he had been there a year they asked him one day who his two followers were, about whom on every day of visit Shāh 'Abbās made jokes. Tarbīyat Khān replied they were the public reporter and the secret reporter, who informed Aurangzeb of all that took place. Shāh 'Abbās laughed, and in a loud voice said to him that one must necessarily assume he was a man of little sense and of slight consideration, seeing that the king had given him such followers and had not trusted in him.

Many are the things which might be told about this embassy, but the story would be very long. It might even be that everybody might not credit it; for infinite were the jokes with which Shāh 'Abbās repaid the hauteur of Aurangzeb in treating his ambassador badly. Among other pleasantries, one day when the ambassador was at the audience, the king ordered into his presence a lion secured by two chains of silver gilt. When the lion appeared, he took hold of it by the mane and stroked it, to show how brave he was. The lion, which was tame, let itself down gently on the floor, and made friendly gestures to the king. The ambassador was in a wonder, and Shāh 'Abbās, as a joke against the reporters, said: 'Write this, too, to Aurangzeb.'

Finally, having by this time prolonged sufficiently the misery of the ambassador, the king decided to send him off. But it was a sad business, this leave-taking. One day Shāh 'Abbās held the ambassador in animated conversation till late in the evening, and it being then dark, asked if he had any coin of Hindūstān, and any portrait of his king. The ambassador replied in the affirmative, and produced some coins of gold and of silver. On these was written:

> 'Secazad der jahan chum bader manir
> Xaa Orangzeb Alamguir'
>
> (Sikkah zad dar jahān chūn badr-i-munīr,
> Shāh Aurangzeb-i-'Ālamgīr)

That is:

> 'Struck coin in the world like sun and moon,
> Aurangzeb, the conqueror of the world.'

At the same time he gave him [99] a portrait of Aurangzeb painted on paper. He was depicted on horseback, and there was an angel in the air presenting to him a sword.

Shāh 'Abbās returned the coins to the ambassador, directing him to read aloud the words stamped on the coins. Beforehand he had told the torch-holder to approach the ambassador, so that he might be able to see; then, when he had finished reading, he was to make a pretence of stumbling, and in so doing set fire to the ambassador's beard. This was done. Meanwhile Shāh 'Abbās kept calling out: 'It is nothing! it is nothing! there are plenty of barbers to repair the damage.' Then, gazing at Aurangzeb's portrait, he began to utter against it much abuse, going through the life and the chief doings of such a king; then, spitting on the picture, threw it on the ground. He ordered his slaves to shoe-beat the face, which deserved no less. This was done, and all observing silence, he said that on the coins there should not appear such words, but these:

> 'Secazad bacurs penir
> Orangzeb beradercox paderguir'
>
> (Sikkah zad ba qurṣ-i-panīr,
> Aurangzeb, barādar-kush-i-pidar gīr).

That is:

> 'Struck coin upon a round of cheese,
> Aurangzeb, brother-slayer, father-seizer.'

At the same time he ordered forty fine horses from his stables to be given to Tarbīyat K͟hān, telling him to go back to his master and inform him that he sent those horses, so that he might not have the excuse of a deficiency of horses for not taking the field against him. Thereby he defied him to enter the field, hoping to teach him thus how a king became a real world conqueror. But of the rest let us speak farther on, for the wars of Shivā Jī here make me pause, having somewhat to say about them.[1]

RETURNS TO JAI SINGH'S CAMPAIGN IN THE DAKHIN.

While this embassy [to Persia] was in progress, we were marching onwards to the city of Aurangābād, on reaching which we joined Shāh 'Ālam. Sending for me, Rajah Jai

[1] There is an account of Tarbīyat K͟hān's treatment in Persia to be found in Dow's 'History of Hindostan,' 1803, iii. 400-402. It differs in details from Manucci's story.

Singh ordered me to go as envoy to three rajahs—that is to say, Ramanagar (Rāmnagar), Pentt (Pent), and Chottia[1] (Chiūtia), who are petty rajahs among the Hindūs, and the Portuguese call them kings of the Colles (? Kolīs). It was through their lands that Shivā Jī passed on his way to attack Sūrat.[2] Rajah Jai Singh gave me a set of robes and a horse, and sent with me thirty troopers and some infantry; also a considerable sum for expenses. My orders were to go to these rajahs, and tell them they must give their word not to [100] take the side of Shivā Jī, nor allow him passage. He (Jai Singh) must declare war against them in the name of the Mogul emperor, if they did not take up arms against Shivā Jī and embrace the cause of Aurangzeb. As security for their promise they must come in themselves or send their sons to attend on the court, where they would be assigned pay and rank befitting their condition.

I took my departure on this deputation, and the first person I visited was the Rajah of Rāmanagar, whose territories lie amidst frightful hills and gloomy forests. I was well received by this rajah, who invited me to take a rest while he deliberated on what he thought it was best to do. I amused myself meanwhile, going out to shoot and fish; nor did the rajah fail in providing

[1] Pentt—this is evidently the Peint of Thornton, 761, and of the 'Imperial Gazetteer,' xi., a petty State in the Nāsik district between Bombay and Sūrat, east of Damān, lying between lat. 20° 1′, 20° 27′, and long. 72° 58′, 73° 4′, with an area of 730 square miles. The town of Peint is 73 miles south-east by south from Sūrat, and 102 miles north-north-east from Bombay. According to the 'Bombay Gazetteer,' xvi. 189 (Nāsik), Pent belonged to Puṇwār Rājputs, and not to Kolīs. Rāmnagar is another name for the State of Dharampur, held by Sisodiah Rājputs, now under the political agent at Sūrat ('Bombay Gazetteer,' vi. 254, 256). I am indebted also to Dr. O. Codrington for calling my attention to Purshoram Vishram Mawjee's 'Shivā Jī's Swarajya,' read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on December 17, 1903. This essay, and the map attached to it, show that this Rāmnagar was the northernmost division of Shivā Jī's hereditary dominions. Chottia may represent a village at the Chivtia (Chiūtia) Pass, over the Sahyādri range, in the north-west corner of the Nāsik district ('Bombay Gazetteer,' xvi. 129). It is not named among the fifteen petty states called the 'Dangs,' 'Imperial Gazetteer,' iv. 114.

[2] This statement is confirmed by the 'Bombay Gazetteer,' ii. 89 (Sūrat). The invasion of Sūrat took place in 1664.

pastimes in the nature of plays and games. Meanwhile he was corresponding with the other two rajahs, whether they thought it suited them to take the Mogul side against Shivā Jī. I was not backward in making promises and using threats, according as I considered it appropriate. Sometimes I put myself into a passion and demanded an answer, else I would be off. In the end the rajah chose the side of Aurangzeb, giving me a horse and a sword. He made over to me his son in confirmation of his word.

I then went to the second rajah, where I was received in a friendly manner, and treated just as I had been at the first place. He petitioned for time, feigning that he had not had time to write to the others. Here I received many honours according to their custom—dances, plays, and the chase. Finally, he, too, gave me a horse and a sword, and delivered to me his son to be conducted to court. But this tall and robust young man died on the journey by reason of the great heat of the sun, which inflamed his blood. He would not agree to be bled, as I counselled, he not trusting in me.

Next I proceeded to the third rajah, who showed himself recalcitrant. But finding I was determined, he set to work to conciliate me. Not having any sons, he made over to me his brother to be taken to court with me; he then bestowed on me a sword and a horse, and bade me farewell. It happened that at this time he was fighting the Portuguese of Damaõ (Damān), so I arranged matters and persuaded them to make peace.

Here two things happened to me that I wish to recount, so that inquiring persons may learn that these people are much given to sorcery [101]. I had a handsome horse that Rajah Jai Singh had given me. The Rajah of Chottia (Chiūtia) took a fancy to this horse, and requested me to sell it to him; he would pay me one thousand rupees. I was not willing, but when it was time for my departure the horse had lost the use of its legs, and was unable to move. I waited for eight days without any good, when the rajah sent me word that, though the horse was damaged, he would still give me one thousand rupees. In a rage, I started from the place, telling my people that if within twenty-four hours the horse could not move, to cut his throat

and bring the hide to me. Finding me so resolute, the rajah sent me one thousand two hundred rupees, beseeching me not to order the horse's throat to be cut, but to content myself with this present, and he would keep the horse in remembrance of me. I contented myself with taking the twelve hundred rupees, knowing quite well that if I did not, I should lose both horse and rupees.

Another affair happened to me in this return journey to the camp with the hostages. It was this: One of my servants, passing through a field of radishes, stretched out his hand to pluck one out of the ground, when his hand adhered in such a fashion to the radish that he could not take it away. It was necessary to find the owner of the field to get him liberated. This was done, and after taking something as a bribe and giving him a beating, the owner recited some words and the man was freed. I could never sufficiently state to what an extent the Hindūs and the Mahomedans in India are in the habit of practising witchcraft. I quite well know that if I were to recount that they can even make a cock crow in the belly of the man who stole and ate it, no credit would be given to me. Nevertheless, the truth is that many a time I heard the crowing in different cases, and of such instances I was told over and over again.[1]

As for the spells practised by the women to bring young men under their control, they are infinite. Of such a nature are they that any such youth becomes mad, nor is he given any respite to think of anything else. This subject I postpone to the Third Part of my History (III. 248-265). Let this serve as a warning to our Europeans who intend to travel in India, so that they may not allow their liberty to be taken from them, for afterwards they will weep over their unhappy, irremediable state. It happens often to one so bound by spells that after

[1] An obvious case of ventriloquism. Mr. W. Crooke refers me to a more modern story of the same sort in Sleeman's 'Rambles and Recollections,' i. 91. He also refers me to the passage from the 'Acta Sanctorum,' tome ii., March, quoted in Southey's 'Commonplace Book,' third series, 355: 'Some thieves having stolen and eaten a ram of his [St. Finian's], and denying the fact, the saint called upon the ram to bear witness; and though the mutton was then in a state of digestion, it bleated in their bellies.'

his lady-love has died he cannot endure the approach of any other woman, remaining ever overcome by sorrow for the defunct [102].

I have not much to say about the lands through which I passed. For they are not of great excellence or productiveness. They are, as I said, full of hills and rocks, and very difficult for fighting in. The habits of these people are barbarous, their features ugly, and complexion black; they go almost naked, having only a simple cloth, which at times is insufficient to hide their shame. Among the hills aforesaid are many tigers and other ferocious animals. It happened to me in this journey that an unknown dog attached itself to us, and served me as a guide in crossing streams. One night it was sleeping near me in these forests, when a tiger came and carried it off.

Shivā Jī surrenders of his own Accord to Rajah Jai Singh.

During the time that I was carrying out my deputation, which lasted nearly seven months, Rajah Jai Singh by his valorous enterprise gave Shivā Jī as much to do as he could manage, never letting him rest. In the end, when Shivā Jī's fortress of Banagar[1] was invested, Jai Singh, in his foreseeing way, began to write to Shivā Jī, pointing out to him that if he would only listen to his words, things should be so arranged with Aurangzeb that he (Shivā Jī) should be propitiated and appointed by the king as governor of the Dakhin. At the same time, opening his purse, a thing which has strong influence over both hearts and tongues, he sent heavy bribes to Shivā Jī's ministers, so that, should he demand their counsel about what ought to be done, they should all tell him it were best to make an agreement with the Mogul king, since he promised to make him governor of the Dakhin. If Rajah Jai Singh went security

[1] Is this meant for Pūnā-gaṛh (see II. 107), or can it be intended for Rāegaṛh, which was the name of Shivā Jī's stronghold? Rairī (renamed Rāegaṛh in 1662) was given up to Shivā Jī by the Bījāpur officials in 1648 (Grant-Duff, 63, 85). Pūnā, Purandhar, Singaṛh, and Rāegaṛh, were the places attacked by Jai Singh (*ibid.*, 92).

for the royal word, he could accept the proposal. For Aurangzeb would never fail in his word, by reason of the estimation and respect in which he held that rajah.

Shivā Jī allowed himself to be persuaded by the pleasant words spoken, and the large promises made to him by the said rajah. Finding that in valour and experience this general was very different from the others who had been sent against him before, he decided to listen to Jai Singh's words and place himself in his hands. When Shivā Jī came to visit the said rajah, much anxiety was caused in our camp, everybody assuming that he must be coming to [103] attack our army.

But when it was known that he had very few people with him, Diler Khān and Kīrat Singh went out to meet him and escort him to the tent of the rajah. But he did not wait for all these preparations, and when he drew near to the tent, the rajah came out to receive him with great friendliness and politeness. Meanwhile the governor of the fortress (? Pūnā) went on fighting with great energy, bombarding our camp with his artillery; nor would he desist until Shivā Jī wrote to him to surrender the fortress. Thus for the time being the war with Shivā Jī was at an end. He trusted in the various letters written to him by Aurangzeb and the oaths he had sworn to him, also in the words and promises of Rajah Jai Singh. A tent was put up for him alongside the rajah's, and he had liberty to enter and leave as he pleased; he was always treated with great honour and respect. Meanwhile they awaited a reply from the court.

A few days after my arrival Shivā Jī gave himself up and came into our camp.[1] Since I went at night to converse and play [cards] with the rajah whenever he so desired, it happened one night during this period that we were having a game, the rajah, his Brahman, and I, when in came Shivā Jī. We all rose up, and Shivā Jī, seeing me, a youth well favoured of body, whom he had not beheld on other occasions, asked Rajah Jai Singh of what country I was the rajah. Jai Singh

[1] Grant-Duff, 93, places Shivā Jī's surrender in July, 1665. According to the 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 51, he came into Jaī Singh's camp on the 8th Ẕi,l Ḥijjah of the eighth year, 1075 H. (June 23, 1665, N.S.).

replied that I was a Farangī rajah. He wondered at such an answer, and said that he also had in his service many Farangīs, but they were not of this style. Rajah Jai Singh wanted to do me honour, and responded that as a rule Nature made a distinction between the great and the humble, and I being a rajah, she had given me a body and a mind very different from those of others. I rose to my feet as a mark of recognition for the compliment, and made the appropriate obeisance. This was the opening which afforded me occasion many times to converse with Shivā Jī, since I possessed, like anyone else in the camp, the Persian and Hindūstān languages. I gave him information about the greatness of European kings, he being of opinion that there was not in Europe any other king than the King of Portugal. I also talked to him about our religion [104].

SHIVĀ JĪ GOES TO COURT, AND AFTER SOME MONTHS TAKES TO FLIGHT.

Diler Khān, being habituated to treachery, wished several times to kill Shivā Jī, and to this intent solicited Rajah Jai Singh to take his life, or at least to give him (Diler Khān) leave to do so. He would assume all responsibility, and see that the rajah was held blameless. He said the king would rejoice at such a result. For Shivā Jī's valour and intrepidity would never give any rest to the Mogul. But Rajah Jai Singh, who had pledged his word and oath not to allow of a murder, but rather that the king should treat Shivā Jī with great honour, never listened to the words of Diler Khān. On the contrary, he made arrangements to send Shivā Jī to court well guarded; and he wrote to his heir, Rām Singh, to take precautions against the king's murdering Shivā Jī. For he had pledged his word, confirmed by an oath, to protect him. Better would it be for his house to be extirpated than to permit Aurangzeb, under cover of his words, to organize treachery.

Upon Shivā Jī's arrival at Dihlī the king caused him to appear in his presence,[1] and instead of giving him the promised

[1] According to the 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 55, line 6, the audience took place on the 18th Ẕu,l Qa'dah, 1076 H. (May 22, 1666).

position, which was to be the highest in his audience-hall, he caused him to be assigned the lowest place in the first circle of nobles within the golden railing. Shivā Jī was much hurt at this deed of Aurangzeb's, which did not conform to the promises received, and angry (so to speak) at being still alive, he said resolutely to Aurangzeb that the position allotted was not according to that promised to him under oath, nor to the agreement made with Rajah Jai Singh. From this his first reception he could well surmise what would come to pass thereafter. Let Aurangzeb remember that the officers in His Majesty's presence, with the exception of Nāmdār Khān,[1] who was a good soldier, were the rest of them so many old women, whom he had overcome in the field with the greatest ease. Thus not one of them deserved the position he held. Then in anger he came out.

Everybody imagined that Aurangzeb would order him to be slain; but Aurangzeb was not used to display passion openly, and only carried out his designs in secrecy. He gave a sign that they were to talk Shivā Jī over, for at that time it was not known what he might want to state to the court. Some of them came out and managed [105] to console him, saying it was the habit of the King of Hindūstān not to give forthwith the first place to those who had newly come to court. But he was certain to do so afterwards; for he held him in high esteem as a valiant captain. But he must wait with patience for a few days.

In the interval Aurangzeb issued orders that he should be escorted to his tent, and, as sentries over him, they should post round his tent three corps of guards. This was until the palace of Fidā,e Khān could be made ready for him. Thus he dwelt some months in a tent; and finding there was no appearance either of the execution of the royal promises or of an opportunity of flight from the hands of Aurangzeb, he sent to ask permission for his soldiers and captains to leave for their own country.

[1] This must be meant for Nāmdār Khān, the son of Ja'far Khān, *wazīr*, by Farzānah Begam, sister of Mumtāz Mahal. Early in the reign he served under Jaswant Singh in the Dakhin, but was recalled to Court in the seventh year (1664-65) ('Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' iii. 830). In Part III., 33, Manucci claims this noble as a great friend of his.

This Aurangzeb accorded, and was contented to detain the persons of Shivā Jī, of Sambhā Jī, his son, and of Netū Jī,[1] the most renowned captain in Shivā Jī's service.

Shivā Jī, on the advice of Rām Singh, son of Rajah Jai Singh, who was one of the captains on guard over him, sent several times each week large covered baskets of sweetmeats to be shared among the officers and others. Aurangzeb took no precautions about this, acute though he was, for he supposed such presents were sent by Shivā Jī by reason of his desire to give alms in thanks to God for his freedom. When the adornment of Fidā,e Khān's mansion was completed he (Aurangzeb) gave orders, under the pretext of honouring Shivā Jī, that on the succeeding morning he should be removed to the said mansion, it being intended that he should be smothered there and buried on the spot.

Rām Singh, fully carrying out his father's instructions, and sufficiently acquainted with Aurangzeb's character, had spent money without stint to obtain reports of any orders issued by the king, either in favour of or against Shivā Jī. He thus heard of the royal order. Without delay Shivā Jī was informed, and he sent out to buy the large covered baskets of sweetmeats as usual. Then, concealing himself within one, he arranged to be carried away, he and his son, to a place of security, whence with good riding-horses he could take flight for his own country. Thus was it carried out. At seven o'clock in the evening, having succeeded in getting away without anyone suspecting, Shivā Jī made use of the preparations made in the villages and woods, as arranged by Rām Singh, and escaped without detention into his own country.[2]

[1] Netū Jī, Pālkar (called Nathū Jī by Khāfī Khān, ii. 191, etc.), became *sarnaubat*, or general of Shivā Jī's cavalry, in 1657 or 1658, and from that time was conspicuous in all the Mahrattah campaigns until 1664 (Grant-Duff, 74, 76, 81, 86). The 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 58, calls him the *khwesh* (son-in-law) of Shivā Jī. Grant-Duff, 99, throws doubt on his conversion, but the 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 60, gives the date of his circumcision as the 1st Shawwāl, tenth year, 1077 H. (March 27, 1667). His new name was Murshid Qulī Khān.

[2] According to the ''Ālamgīrnāmah,' 971, line 16, Shivā Jī escaped in the night of the 27th Ṣafar, ninth year, 1077 H. (August 29, 1666), the Court being then at Āgrah (*ibid.*, 1021, line 10). He reached the Dakhin in December, 1666, after an absence of nine months (Grant-Duff, 96).

Next morning they went to remove Shivā Jī to the mansion where his life was to be taken. On entering the tent they saw a turban at the side of the cushion, as if [106] he were still asleep. They waited for a time, then once more they went to look if he was awake. But what was lying there was not able to move on any account! Thus they went in several times without noticing any movement, nor did they hear any snoring. They uncovered him gently to find out if he was alive or dead. By this inspection they were undeceived, and at once reported to Rām Singh, who went to the king before anyone else could speak to him. After making his bow, he stood, with a cast-down countenance, in perfect silence. Aurangzeb was puzzled by this change, Rām Singh being ordinarily of a jovial expression. He asked what this dejection meant, and why he had not gone home. Rām Singh replied in a low voice that he had bad news, namely, that Shivā Jī had disappeared.

Aurangzeb was much put out by this event, and raising his hand to his head as if plunged in thought, he sent out orders throughout the realm for Shivā Jī to be traced. But Shivā Jī was already far on his road, traversing in one night what would have taken anyone else three days and three nights. In this way it was impossible to catch him, his way being through jungle and mountains, places through which it is very difficult to pass. Being afraid that Netū Jī also might disappear, Aurangzeb forced him into accepting service, and sent him off to the other side of the river (the Indus) to fight under Mahābat Khān.

THE WAR AGAINST BĪJĀPUR.

Shivā Jī's haste in taking to flight has caused us to get some paces too far ahead, and leaves now for this place various matters, including the orders sent by Aurangzeb to Rajah Jai Singh when he was certain that Shivā Jī had already surrendered himself. These orders were that, ceasing to campaign against the territories of Shivā Jī, our army should proceed to the conquest of Visapur (Bījāpur, Vijayapura).[1]

[1] There is a long and much better account of Jai Singh's Bījāpur campaign in Khāfī Khān, ii. 191 (Elliot and Dowson, vii. 277-279).

The rajah started at the head of fifty thousand horsemen, relying upon his knowledge of the fact that the greater number of the Bījāpur generals were on Aurangzeb's side. We were on our way when a letter arrived from Sargecan (Sharzah Khān),[1] a Paṭhān by race and captain-general of the Bījāpur king, addressed to Diler Khān, to the following effect:

'Valorous and loyal general, Diler Khān! I do not write to Rajah Jai Singh but to you, we being of one race and of one faith. For this reason I believe that [107] you will give ear to my words. I pray you as a favour to so arrange that Rajah Jai Singh obtains from King Aurangzeb orders to desist from this war. For the King of Bījāpur is of the same sect of the faithful, and up to this time has never evaded the payment of the agreed tribute. If you are not able to secure this, I shall be forced to do what in me lies to defend this kingdom. Nor must you take it ill if I oppose your division or succeed in routing you, and deprive you of the glory that by a victory you would obtain.'

When Diler Khān received the letter, he replied briefly that, until he had the King of Bījāpur in his power, Aurangzeb would never listen to the proposals of anyone. As for an encounter in the field, he was delighted both to test the valour of Sharzah Khān, and to give him a sample of the courage with which he, too, could fight. On hearing this, Sharzah Khān took the field, and dividing his army into two parts, allowed us to march between them for fifteen days of our route. When we were close to Bījāpur, he began to devastate the Mogul provinces without mercy.

The rajah paid no heed to this, assuming that it would be

[1] This Sharzah Khān is mentioned by Khāfī Khān, ii. 195, line 4, and by Dr. John Fryer, 1675, edition of 1873, p. 406. His portrait is one of our illustrations. He afterwards received from Aurangzeb, thirtieth year, 1686-87, the title of Rustam Khān. In the thirty-third year, 1689-90, he was captured by Santā, Mahrattah, and not released until the forty-ninth year, 1704-5. Grant-Duff, 154, says Hambhīr Rāo was the captor, and the place Wāī. Rustam Khān was made Deputy-Governor of Barār, and in the first year of Bahādur Shāh, 1707-8, full Governor, vice Ghāzī-ud-dīn Khān ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 480, and Kewal Rām, 'Tazkirat-ul-Umarā,' British Museum, Additional MS., No. 16703, fol. 45*b*).

easy for him to take Bījāpur and its king, for he had been corresponding with the officers. But the intrigues being discovered, the king removed the officers who had written, and replaced them by others. By this change the rajah found himself deprived of those he relied on, and he had to beat a retreat. This was the time when Sharzah Khān captured three officers who were coming over to our army to join us; he decapitated them, and sent the heads to the King of Bījāpur as a proof that he had one loyal general, who would spare no one when acting in defence of his king. Sharzah Khān gave us a lot of trouble during our retirement, leaving us not a moment's rest, either by day or by night, until we had quitted the territory of Bījāpur.

During this advance and retreat there was with our army the Father Damiaõ Vieira, a Portuguese[1] expelled by the Jesuit fathers. The cause of his appearance was that during our stay below the fortress of Punagar (? Pūnā-gaṛh) the Hindūs of Chāwal came to complain to Rajah Jai Singh that the Portuguese were seizing forcibly the sons of the Hindūs and making them Christians. This made the rajah angry, for he was zealous in the Hindū faith, and he made preparations to send a force against Chāwal.

On becoming aware of this I gave notice, there and then, to Ignacio Sermento at Bassain [108].[2] He was chief of the northern territory of the Portuguese, which extends to Damaõ (Damān). I requested him to send someone as envoy with some presents, and I would arrange matters. He sent this padre, with a young Mahomedan in his suite. He brought this youth expressly to get from him half of what he might acquire, as being well acquainted with the territories of Chāwal. He was clever enough to secure the rajah's taking this young man into his service, and thus they shared the pay in a brotherly manner. I spoke to the rajah, and pointed out to him that

[1] Manucci, Part III., 230, says this man denounced him to the Inquisition at Bassain in 1667.

[2] Danvers, ii. 327, year 1662, speaks of Ignatio Sermento, Governor of Cochin. Possibly this Governor of Bassain in 1666 is the same man. Manucci speaks of him again on fol. 110, and on fol. 213 of Part III. we are told he was murdered on Palm Sunday, 1676.

there was no occasion for the Hindūs of Chāwal to complain, since what the Portuguese were doing had gone on certainly for a hundred years; nor did they make Christians of anyone but orphans who had no relations forthcoming.

The padre was not content with having accomplished his mission with somewhat of honour, but he must needs enter on warlike proposals. He promised the rajah that he would so manage that the viceroy of Goa should give aid to the Moguls in the acquisition of Bījāpur. Over and over again I told the padre that it was not a good thing to enter into such matters, that he had much better withdraw to Goa. For the King of Bījāpur was a better neighbour to the Portuguese than the Mogul king would ever be. The latter, having conquered Bījāpur, would next try to take Goa. The padre was not pleased with my views, and complained to the rajah, so that the rajah said to me one day, without giving a reason, that I should avoid meeting the padre. After the business had been settled, I received from the Portuguese a certificate signed by Ignacio Sermento, wherein he swore on the Holy Evangelists that I had done a great service to the Crown of Portugal.

We got to Bījāpur, as I said, and there we beheld the miracles that the padre had promised us. We were to take Bījāpur with the greatest ease, whereas it all but happened that Sharzah K͟hān broke all our heads. Therefore, finding, after we had retreated, that we were going into quarters, I began to long for a life among Christians; and I was disgusted at the conduct of the padre, who continued to live on in the army. I asked the rajah for leave to resign, as I wanted to return to my country, and I put forward as excuse that I wanted to get married. They never refuse anyone leave when it is with that object. The rajah asked his Brahman and the astrologers, with whom (as I have said) these princes are always well provided, if he [109] should ever see me again. They replied that we should never meet again. He believed that I was doomed to die, but he reckoned badly, for while I got back to the Mogul country, he was left dead far from home, as I shall relate in its proper place (II. 115).

On my leave-taking he gave me a set of robes, and something

by way of present. Upon quitting the army I went into a village belonging to the Portuguese called Camba (Kāmbe),[1] close to Galiani[1] (Kaliyānī) and Beundi (Bhiwandī)[1], in the country of Shivā Jī. In this village are made many things in wood—handsome chairs, sideboards, bedsteads, and different playthings. Here I stayed for several days, at the request of a friend of mine who was owner of the village, and he kept me in his house until he had stolen some gold coins I had. Thence I made for Bassaim (Bassain, Wasai), a Portuguese town, there to pass Lent,[2] and I lived outside the town. I was very near losing my life here. A gentleman (*fidalgo*) asked me about some *fidalgos* of the Mello family, then living in the Mogul country, who had been banished for putting to death two brothers named Medonças (? Mendoza), brothers-in-law of the questioner, on the accusation of treason to the Portuguese Crown. I had no idea that he was an enemy of these fugitives, and I replied that they were men of worth and honoured gentlemen. This sufficed to set him plotting against me, and he sent out men to assassinate me. But it was God's pleasure that, when coming out of the town on my horse, I should meet some gentlemen, who requested me to put my horse to speed, which I did most vigorously. With a pleasantry I look my leave of them, and spurred my horse into a gallop, though it was already tired out, getting my sword out of its scabbard; it was as much as I could do to get hold of it, seeing that my horse would hardly let me.

But here we must admire God's providence, who had resolved on saving me. Here was I galloping my horse, sword in hand, when I came up with four men at a corner round which I had to pass. They stood there waiting for me, with naked swords,

[1] Kaliyāni is the well-known town (now a railway junction) in the Thānah District ('Bombay Gazetteer,' xiv. 113). Beundi I identify as Bhiwandī, six miles north of Kaliyān, and in the same district, lat. 28° 45′, long. 76° 14′ (*ibid.*, 45). Camba (Kāmbe) was a Portuguese fort two miles west of Bhiwandī (*ibid.*, xiii. 457; Thānah District).

[2] According to the "'Ālamgīrnāmah,' 1021, last line, Jai Singh, after nearly a year's absence, arrived at Aurangābād, on his return from Bījāpur, on the 8th Jamādī' II., 1077 H. (December 16, 1666). Manucci says, farther on, it was in 1666 he reached Bassain, but it was more probably the Lent of 1667. The town of Bassain (or Basai) is twenty-eight miles north of Bombay, and was held by the Portuguese until 1765 ('Bombay Gazetteer,' xiv. 28, Thānah District).

XVI. SULTĀN AKBAR, FOURTH SON OF AURANGZEB.

To face page 144.

ready to slay me. But guessing that I had been already warned, and was coming at them resolved to fight to the death, they were in fear and allowed me to pass without hindrance. I was subsequently informed that he who laid this plot for me was the *fidalgo* to whom I had praised the Mellos. Thus, fearing that he would lose no occasion of executing his evil intent, I left for Goa, and there I arrived in the month of May, one thousand six hundred and sixty-six (1666).[1] Of the place itself I shall have much to say presently, but the reader must permit me first to state briefly [110] something about my own stay there.

I did not obtain there what I sought, for I found myself in a place where treachery is great and prevalent, where there is little fear of God and no concern for strangers. Not that I can complain myself of ill-treatment, for the viceroy desired to honour me with the command of a war-galley. But since I had many necessary expenses, and I was not rich enough to take upon myself the payment of the soldiers and sailors from my own pocket, I declined. My advice to the viceroy was that he should take great care not to let the Mogul become master of Bījāpur; for on finding an opportunity, he would use all his strength to take Goa, as was his usual practice.

As I had need of money for expenses, I went several times to the general, Ignacio Sermento,[2] to ask for the three hundred rupees which he continued to owe me for certain articles that he had asked me to send him when I was in the Mogul country. Never could I succeed in getting what was due. At length, when he was about to start for his government of Mozambique, I begged him to make me a gift of the three hundred rupees, at any rate, under the name of alms. As a foreigner I had no remedy against him; and when he heard me ask for charity, he ordered the sum to be paid me. Thus is it the custom of certain of these gentlemen to pay their debts after wearying out their creditors. I was very fortunate. Others, in place of collecting the money they had lent, have lost a limb or even their life. I do not want to talk of that, for those who

[1] More probably 1667 (see *ante*, II. 107, note).

[2] See *ante*, II. 108, note, and also Part III., 213 (his murder).

are curious may ask the Portuguese themselves; there are among them men of sincerity, as there are in other nations. Such men can tell them more than I dare to write about the Portuguese of India.

Shah 'Abbās defies Aurangzeb.

But let us return to the Moguls and talk of a year in which several things happened. The first event was that Aurangzeb had a son by his beloved queen, Udepūrī, who received the name of Kaembaex (Kām Bakhsh), this being the fifth and last son.[1] But Aurangzeb could not resolve to have him destroyed in his mother's womb, in accordance with the rule of Shāhjahān. He acted thus out of his great love for Udepūrī [111]. The second event was that Aurangzeb's ambassador to the King of Persia arrived at Dihlī with the forty horses that Shāh 'Abbās sent to Aurangzeb as a challenge to take the field. By this the whole kingdom fell into great anxiety and confusion, more especially the city of Dihlī, for Aurangzeb, to show that he had no fear at the approach of Shāh 'Abbās, who had already begun his march towards India, sent orders to cut the throats of the forty fine horses at the doors of the Persian officers, such as Ja'far Khān, Muḥammad Amīn Khān, and others. This was to prove that he had no need of them, nor did he make any account of the King of Persia.[2]

The wretched Tarbīyat Khān,[3] who had been the ambassador, as we have said, received from Aurangzeb many affronts and much abuse. Aurangzeb said to him that if he were a man

[1] Kām Bakhsh was born on the 10th Ramaẓān, 1077 H. (March 6, 1667, N.S.) ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 538).

[2] The account by John Cambell, 'gunfounder,' in the British Museum, Sloane MS., No. 811, fol. 6*b*, says he was present, and saw Aurangzeb break in pieces the sword sent by the Persian King; he ordered the fragments to be stamped to 'pother,' burnt, and the ashes thrown into the river. The horses were given away.

[3] Tarbīyat Khān arrived after Ẕu,l Qa'dah of the ninth year, 1076 H. (after June 3, 1666). He was appointed to Udīsa (Orissa), vice Khān Daurān, about the 25th Ẕu,l Qa'dah, 1078 H. (May 12, 1668) ('M.-i-'Ā.,' 56, 57, 62). As to the horses and Aurangzeb's suspicions of the Persians, see Dow, iii. 405.

of understanding and capable of any shame, he should have got killed in the Persian king's palace, first taking the life of the heretic (for thus they style the Persians). He would like to know why he carried a dagger at his side, if it were not for defending the honour of his king and offering up his life on his behalf. It had been better for him to bury himself alive than appear again in the sight of men. Thus did he expel him from court, and in a short space the wretched Tarbīyat Khān ended his days.[1]

Death of 'Abd-ul-Karīm.

Aurangzeb had shown that he was not afraid of the Persians. All the same, he had a certain amount of dread, for he recalled Shāh 'Ālam to court in great haste, and directed Rajah Jai Singh to make peace with the king of Bījāpur. His intention was to enter on a campaign against the Persians. He still further exerted himself. He ordered the learned 'Abd-ul-Karīm,[2] master of theology, to take steps to ascertain what Shāh 'Abbās was doing, and transmit to court clear information.

'Abd-ul-Karīm was so energetic that it cost him his life. For, having seized some Persian merchants who were totally ignorant of the plans of Shāh 'Abbās, he tortured them until they should tell him what they did not know. At last one of them, in despair at so much suffering, sought for death. Thus, the six Persian merchants being in the audience-hall under examination, one of them drew near to 'Abd-ul-Karīm [112], who was seated upon a carpet, his sword lying in front of him, as is customary, and around him a number of persons. The man said he wished to confess the truth, and would therefore swear upon the sword to state what he knew. Placing his hand upon the sword, which was sheathed, he suddenly raised

[1] Tarbīyat Khān did not die until 1096 H. (1685), when he was *faujdār* of Jaunpur.

[2] 'Abd-ul-Karīm is probably an error for Maulānā 'Abd-ul-Qawī, I'timād Khān, who, according to the 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' p. 57, was assassinated in 1077 H. (1666-67) much in the way here described (see also 'Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' i. 225, and Khāfī Khān, ii. 203-205).

it and gave his torturer a mighty blow upon the head. 'Abd-ul-Karīm was killed. The bystanders seized the other five merchants, who were lying chained in a corner of the hall, while the brave fellow who struck the blow managed to escape during the confusion.

Let it be learnt hereby that patience, when at last angered, is transformed into fury, and in pursuing an inquiry:

> 'Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,
> Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.'[1]

By this event Aurangzeb was thrown into a great quandary, suspecting that the Persians had already decided to take possession of Hindūstān by one method or another. He therefore ordered everyone to go about clad in shirts of mail.

Aurangzeb's apprehensions were added to when he opened the book of Coja Afez Xirazi (Khwājah Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī). He is a Persian author much esteemed by Mahomedans, because he wrote good doctrine in verse. On the occasion of any important affair they open his book at a venture, or, as we are used to say, *ad apertum libri*. They regulate their conduct by the first words upon which their eyes rest, treating them as prophetic. He fell (I say) into greater anxiety, since on opening the said book he found the statement: 'I am greatly amazed that the black man should claim equality with his master.'[2] This was as much as to say that he wondered that the King of Hindūstān should assert his ability to resist the strength of the Persian king. For, as I said already more than once, the Persians call the Indians their 'slaves' or 'black men.' Aurangzeb flung the book on the ground in a great rage, and issued orders for all copies of the work to be collected and burnt. None was allowed to retain this book under pain of death.

1 Horace, 'Satires,' I., i. 106.

> 'Yes, there's a mean in morals; life has lines,
> To north and south of which all virtue pines.'
> CONINGTON.

2 Haji M. A. Hussein Khān, to whom I referred the question, can find no such line in the 'Dīwān' of Ḥāfiẓ. The nearest he could suggest were the two lines:

> 'Ḥāfiẓ! ba adab bāsh, kih darkhwāst na bāshad
> Gar Shāh payāme baghulāme na firistād.'

Death of Shāh 'Abbās.

Meanwhile Shāh 'Abbās was advancing with great determination and impatience for a contest with the army of Aurangzeb. He had three hundred thousand horsemen, and it is quite certain [113] that if Aurangzeb had encountered this valiant king he would have run considerable risk of losing the kingdom, to gain which he had worked so hard with mind and body. But it was his good fortune that Shāh 'Abbās fell ill of quinsy and died upon the march, whereby Aurangzeb was much relieved, though by that time ready to take the field, as Rajah Jai Singh had made peace with the king of Bījāpur.[1]

Upon the death of Shāh 'Abbās the aged mother of that king wrote to Aurangzeb that, now his rival was dead, he was excused from taking the trouble of coming into the field. All the same, if he wanted to come, he would find her there in the place of her son, and she was waiting for nothing but a word from him to start. Although Aurangzeb had made every preparation for a campaign, and he was not occupied with any other matter of importance, Shivā Jī having been already taken, he still did not care to interfere with the Persians. He made the excuse that it did not befit his honour to go against a woman, while God had already chastised the evil-doer. As a revenge for what Shāh 'Abbās had attempted to do, he forbade the sending of caravans from Hindūstān to Persia, but allowed them to travel into India from Persia.

Begam Ṣāhib gives Wine to the Wives of the Learned Doctors.

It was in this year that the learned, or *Mullās*, of the faith, seeing the king freed of troubles, obtained from him the issue of laws for women—that is to say, that they must not wear tight trousers like those of men, but wide ones. They said this was advisable to distinguish them from men, but their meaning

[1] Shāh 'Abbās II., son of Shāh Ṣafī, son of Shāh 'Abbās I., died at the village of Khārasmān on the 1st Rabī' I., 1077 H. (September 1, 1666), aged thirty-six or thirty-seven (lunar) years ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 58, and 'Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi,' year 1077). Tavernier, English edition, 200, says he died at Tehzon of an inflammation of the throat, which came on from excessive drinking.

was very different. They also wanted him to make a rule against women drinking, or eating *bhang*, nutmeg, opium, or other drugs. The women had paid no heed to the orders he had given at the beginning of his reign, saying those orders did not apply to them, but to men only.

When Pādshāh Begam, otherwise Begam Ṣāḥib, learnt of this new rule, she invited the wives of the *qāẓī* and the other learned men to her mansion, and gave them wine until they were drunk. Aurangzeb came to her palace and referred to the restrictions under which he had placed women. He made excuses, saying that he was under an obligation to make the law obeyed. She had never [114] heard, she said, that those things were entered in the book of the Law. But Aurangzeb told her that such was the opinion of all the learned. Thereupon Pādshāh Begam invited the king within the *pardah*, where he saw the wives of the said learned men all lying drunk and in disorder, and also wearing tight trousers on their legs!

Upon this Pādshāh Begam said to him that if such things were part of the Faith, the learned should not allow their wives and daughters to go about clothed in that fashion, nor should they permit them to drink intoxicating drugs. Instead of issuing laws for others, they required to regulate their own households. Thus was appeased the storm that had been raised against women.

AMBASSADORS FROM FRANCE.

In this year it was that ambassadors arrived from the King of France to the Mogul. One was called Monsieur de la Bullaye le Gout, and the other Monsieur Beber.[1] They came

[1] Here, as in the case of Lord Bellomont, Manucci is more correct than the biographical dictionaries. François de la Boullaye le Gouz, son of Gabriel le Gouz, was born at Baugé, near Angers, *circa* 1610, and, according to the 'Biographie Universelle' (Michaud), vol. xviii. (1817), p. 216, died at Iṣfahān after 1664, or, as the 'Nouvelle Biographie Générale' (Didot), vol. xxx. (1859), p. 414, says, 'about 1669,' without ever reaching India on this journey. Both works say the King of Persia gave him a pompous funeral. But H. Castonnet des Fosses, in his 'La Boullaye le Gouz, sa Vie et ses Voyages' (53 pp., 8vo., Angers, 1891), drawing upon local sources, confirms Manucci generally. Le Gouz had travelled in India once before, and produced a book, 'Les Voyages et

to obtain from the Mogul leave to open a factory at Sūrat. Their orders were not to deliver their letters, unless into the hands of Aurangzeb himself. But it not being the custom of the Mogul kings to take letters from the hand of an ambassador,

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Observations,' 1653, which brought him to the notice of Louis XIV. In 1664 (October), when Colbert formed his Compagnie des Indes, Le Gouz was selected with others to proceed to India through Persia to push the interests of the new enterprise. Le Gouz and Béber reached Swally (Sūrat) on April 1, 1666, and proceeded to Āgrah. On leaving that place late in 1666 they separated, Béber returning to Sūrat, and Le Gouz making for Bengal *en route* for China. A few miles from Ḍhākah he was assassinated by two soldiers, who mistook two heavy boxes of books for treasure-chests. This must have happened at the end of 1666 or early in 1667 (see also H. Castonnet des Fosses, 'L'Inde Français au XVIIIme Siècle,' Paris, no year, pp. 41, 42).

I have failed to find any notice of Le Gouz's death in the Dutch reports from Ḍhākah. There are some letters from him in 'Estat de la Perse en 1660,' by Père Raphael du Mans, Capuchin, edited by C. Schefer, Appendix, pp. 289-321. Tavernier mentions him in his 'Travels,' edition Ball, i. 210 (note), 224. But really the only full account, a very amusing one, is in Tavernier's 'Recueil de Plusieurs Relations (II., Relation de ce que s'est passé dans la Négociation des Deputez,' etc.), 4to., Paris, 1679 (separate paging to each part), 98 pp. Tavernier was at Āgrah at the time, and Béber left for Sūrat in his company. Manucci was in the Dakhin then, and it is impossible to tell whether he used Tavernier's narrative or had independent sources; both accounts are in substantial agreement. J. de Thévenot, 'Voyage,' 1727, v. 212, notices Le Gouz and Béber's quarrel with a *banyā*, and their absurd idea at Burhānpur that a headman's offer of a *nazar* of twenty-five or thirty rupees was a calculated insult.

There are a few notices of this French embassy in the East India Company's records. The first news that a new French company was established is in a letter from Sūrat to Persia of February 17, 1666 (Factory Records, Sūrat, vol. lxxxvi.). The remark is then repeated, and the arrival of two Frenchmen is announced (Sūrat to Bantam, March 20, 1666, Original Correspondence, 3163). Next, in the postscript to a general letter from Sūrat to the Court, April 4, 1666 (O.C., 3157), they mention the appearance of the two Frenchmen, one sent by the King and the other by the new company; they had left some others at Bandar Congo in the Gulf. The English factors do not think the answer of the Mogul, who is a 'greate zealot,' will be so pleasing as that of the Persian King. In another general letter of September 10, 1666 (Sūrat), in O.C., No. 3185, the difficulties of the French at the Mogul Court are detailed, Ja'far Khān having asked at once what present they had brought. They left the Court, were set upon by thieves, went back, and at last had an audience. Mr. Randolph Taylor at Sūrat writes to Mr. John Stanian to the same effect under date November 24, 1666 (O.C., 3203). On March 26, 1667 (O.C., 3213), Sūrat reports to the Court (East India Company) that one Frenchman has left Āgrah—it is said towards Bengal—while the other was returning to Sūrat with a *Farmān*. They comment on Béber's 'hastie and peevish nature,' and his 'foule language or blowes.'

Aurangzeb, by way of showing the esteem in which he held the King of France, ordered Shāh 'Ālam to take the letter from the ambassadors. This was a thing that up to that time had not been conceded to anyone. Although they had presents to be offered to the king, among them some cannon of a new invention which I had seen in Sūrat, and many other articles, nevertheless, for some reason, they gave nothing, and yet secured what they desired, the King of France being highly thought of among the Moguls. Monsieur de la Bullaye embarked at Paṭnah on his way to Bengal, but disappeared along with his boat, nor was anything ever heard of them. The other (? M. Béber), when at Goa, fell ill, and, meaning to take *sal prunella* (nitrate of potash) or mineral crystal, by inadvertence took corrosive sublimate, and died there.[1]

Death of Rajah Jai Singh.

In the following year, one thousand six hundred and sixty-seven (correctly, 1666) Shivā Jī escaped in the way I have [115] spoken of (II. 105). Aurangzeb, owing to the death of the Persian king, found himself no longer in need of Rajah Jai Singh's services [for a Persian campaign]; and he had suspicions that the flight of Shivā Jī had been manipulated by that rajah. He ordered Jai Singh to return to court, and on the road caused poison to be given to him, from which he died at Burhānpur;[2] thus was he rewarded for the great services he had rendered. The rajah might have killed Aurangzeb when he came across him near the Lakhī jungle, during the king's march against Shāh Shujā', and could have done the deed in perfect safety. He had been counselled to do it by his officers, as I have already said in the Second Book of my First Part (I. 220). Thus, too, was the rajah rewarded for deserting Sulaīmān

[1] I am informed that while *sal prunella* is highly soluble, perchloride of mercury is very imperfectly so; and, although both are white powders, it would for this reason be almost impossible to mistake them. Perhaps Béber was drunk, a failing of his (*teste* Tavernier).

[2] Jai Singh died 20th Muḥarram, 1078 H. (July 12, 1667), at Burhānpur. He had been Rajah over fifty years, and his age was about sixty ('Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī'). Tod, 'Rajasthan' (reprint), II., 342, states that Kīrat Singh poisoned his father at the instigation of Aurangzeb.

Shukoh, son of Dārā, in obedience to a simple letter sent to him by Aurangzeb. Thus did Aurangzeb reward the fidelity with which this rajah governed Dihlī while he was in pursuit of Shāh Shujā'. Thus did he reward the skill with which the rajah obtained the delivery of Sulaīmān Shukoh when he had sought shelter in the mountains of Srinagar. Thus did he reward the valour and determination with which the rajah went against Shivā Jī, and the expenditure by which Shivā Jī's submission was secured. Thus did he reward the submissiveness with which the rajah made peace with Bījāpur, under conditions favourable to the Mogul court.

As a further piece of revenge for the flight of Shivā Jī, Aurangzeb ordered Rām Singh, the rajah's eldest son, to proceed upon the conquest of Assam,[1] simply in the hope of getting rid of him, knowing what had happened there to the great Mīr Jumlah. But, on the representations of several princes, he varied the order, and sent him (Rām Singh) to the farther side of the river Indus, to be under the orders of the governor of those lands, wherein to live is a severe punishment to Hindūs, as I have already said (I. 223).

When the news of Jai Singh's death reached the court, he who brought it believed he was the carrier of melancholy news to Aurangzeb. For the whole country knew the services rendered by the deceased rajah to Aurangzeb and his kingdom, and they supposed that the king could not but grieve greatly for him. But, although it be a truth that the great make no account of their subjects except when they have need of them, and when the service is finished make no payment but in the coin of neglect, Aurangzeb, most completely ungrateful of them all, held it a maxim to withdraw from before his eyes those who had done the most for him. Thus he publicly declared himself rejoiced at the death of that great leader, saying [116] at once to the bearer of the news that his greatest joy consisted in this death of Rajah Jai Singh. Yet it had caused sorrow to everybody except Aurangzeb. The latter,

[1] This appointment was made on the 21st Rajab, tenth year, 1078 H. (January 6, 1668) ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 65). He left Bengal in the nineteenth year (1675-76), and died on duty in Kābul during 1099 H. (1687-88).

rid of a rajah whose influence might have been dangerous to his kingdom, declared that very hour an open war against Hindūism.

He sent orders at once for the destruction of the fine temple called Lalta, in the neighbourhood of Dihlī. He also ordered every viceroy and governor to destroy all the temples within his jurisdiction. Among others was destroyed the great temple of Matora (Mathurā), which was of such a height that its gilded pinnacle could be seen from Āgrah, eighteen leagues away. In its place a mosque was to be erected, to which he gave the name of Essalamabad (Islāmābād)—that is, 'Built by the faithful.' Not content with this, he expelled the *jogīs* or *sanyāsīs*, who are the ascetics and saints of the Hindūs. He directed that the higher officers at the court who were Hindūs should no longer hold their charges, but into their places Mahomedans should be put. He hindered the Hindūs from enjoying their merry-making (*intrudo*) or carnival,[1] on which occasion Mahomedans also resort to pranks and filthy sports. The time of this festival or carnival falls ordinarily on the moon of March. It is their custom to disport themselves by throwing on each other's clothes scented oils and odoriferous dust, if they are personages of position, or dirty water and other stinking things if they are low people. They run about in all directions, just as with us in Europe is done at carnival time, with noisy cries and obscene words.

Death of Father Buzeo.

The nobles in the Mogul country, above all Ja'far Khān, felt much the loss this year of a Christian and a priest, although they do not care a fig usually whether we live or die. They are in the habit of calling us 'unbelievers.' This was Father Buzeo,[2] a Flemish Jesuit well known at the court, a great friend of Dārā and well liked by all the nobles, who delighted

[1] The *Holī*, or spring festival, is evidently intended.

[2] Bernier also mentions Father Buzeo (or Busée) and his friendship with Dārā, p. 6 (and Constable's note quoting Catrou, i. 170); Dārā's death, p. 101, note; Busée and the false astrologer, p. 244; intimacy with Dārā, p. 289. The father apparently died on June 20, 1668. There is an inscribed stone in the mortuary chapel at Āgrah bearing that date and the name 'Henriquez [illegible].' See J. F. Fanthorne, p. 55.

much in his conversation. He was a man of great judgment, very learned, well [117] regulated in act and speech. He was of a fine presence, tall and portly, imposing respect by his mere appearance. He was very polished, a good mathematician, one who in a few words could solve the most difficult problems. In such estimation was he held that even Aurangzeb on his journey to and stay in Kashmīr wished his company.

This man of fine constitution met with trouble in regard to a marriage that he had arranged among the Christians. The husband, renouncing his religion, had turned Mahomedan. So much affected was the father, that the blood went to his head and he became delirious. To let blood would have sufficed to alleviate nature; but as he was fifty-three years of age, and had never been bled, they would not bleed him. In this way his blood so troubled him that one day, shutting himself into his room, he opened his bowels with a knife, and, drawing out the colon, removed a piece and threw it away. Nature being thus discharged, his head was relieved, and he called for his servants. As they could not get in, they knocked down the door and ran to his assistance. But it was too late, a piece of the bowel having disappeared.

In Dihlī at this time was one of the fugitive friars of whom I formerly spoke (II. 61, 66, 67), and among the Christians who assembled, this friar also appeared. This priest confessed him, and remained present until his death. Since Father Buzeo was a wise man, he forthwith, before he expired, ordered a writing to be drawn up in his presence, wherein he declared that he himself had made the wound. He obtained the signatures of the greater number of those present, so that this paper being carried to the magistrate, the neighbours and the house-servants might be saved annoyance. He died with all the signs of a perfect holy man, and his dead body was carried to Āgrah. Speaking with the king, Ja'far Khān said to him that the sign of understanding had fallen, alluding to the death of this great religious person.

It was not long before some renegade servants of the Jesuit fathers made use of this occasion to get the fathers ejected from Āgrah. They laid a petition before the magistrate that

a Farangī, having died leaving no heirs, they asked for a grant of the houses of the defunct. From the *qāẓī* they obtained the order that they sought. The fathers went and sought the good offices of Ja'far K͟hān, who, for the friendship he had to the said father, let the king know what was the real state of the case—that is to say, the deceased, being neither married [118] nor a merchant, but a member of a religious order, could have no heir, possessing nothing of his own. His only heirs were the fathers of the same order. Thus fresh instructions were issued in favour of the padres. By this death the fathers lost much of the lustre that they had, for they did not succeed in maintaining their ancient reputation. The Mahomedans are very touchy, hence it is necessary for the fathers to conduct themselves with great prudence. The slightest indiscretion of one man suffices to ruin the rest.

JA'FAR KHĀN, CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE KING.

Since we have spoken of Ja'far K͟hān, a great friend of the Christians and of the fathers, it is requisite to say something about his character. He was the most famous man of learning among the Moguls, first Secretary and Minister of State. He was so civil and courteous that he addressed everybody as 'sir,' and he was incapable of displaying anger. He was very polished, and his purity might be called a fetish. He declined to listen to coarse language in any shape. On one occasion it happened that his horse stopped a moment for a necessary purpose. He dismounted from his horse and took a seat in his palanquin, cloaking the feeling that caused this action by protesting that it was very hot.

But it was a stranger thing he did when the architect brought him the plans of a fine palace that he intended to build. For, after asking as to various sections of the plan, he ended by inquiring about a certain place, where were depicted the privy retreats. The architect said it was the necessary place, whereupon he held his nostrils with his right hand, and puckering up his face, made a sign with his left to take the plan away, as if it smelt merely through having this painting on it.

This man used to drink his drop of liquor, and on this

account Aurangzeb, as a strict Mussulman, caused him to be spoken to several times, and in the end spoke to him himself, saying that it was not a fit thing for the first minister in a kingdom of the faithful to drink wine, he being under obligation to set a good example. Ja'far Khān replied that he was an old man, without strength in his hands or firmness in his feet, had little sight in his eyes, and was very poor. By drinking wine he got sight for seeing, power for wielding the pen in the service of His Majesty, felt strength in his feet to run to court when His Majesty [119] called, and seemed in imagination to become rich. For these reasons he drank. Wine could make the poor rich, the blind to see, the fragile robust, and the cripple whole. Aurangzeb laughed at this speech, and Ja'far Khān told him that, whenever His Majesty desired, he would produce demonstration, in substance, of these assertions.

Aurangzeb was willing to behold these miracles. Ja'far Khān therefore prepared a banquet for some beggars, choosing one man crippled in the legs, one armless man, one blind man, and one healthy poor man. They were given leave to do and speak as they liked. While these beggars were drinking, he sent word to the king that if he wanted to see the miracles done by wine, now was the time. Aurangzeb went, more to be gracious than for any other reason. Hidden from the beggars, he listened, and heard the blind man launch into praise of the wine's fine colour. Ja'far Khān said: 'Behold, your Majesty, the blind man with a cup or two inside him can already see!' Another beggar, the armless one, shouted abuse at the blind man, telling him to finish drinking. If he did not, he would thrash him and knock his teeth out. Then said Ja'far Khān to the king: 'Already has the cripple got back his arm.' In his impatience, the man without legs flew into a rage with the blind man, and said if he had not been seated he would give him a bellyful of kicks. This sufficed for Ja'far Khān to point out to the king that the legless man had got a foot, since he was going to give kicks. The unhappy poor man who had all his faculties but no cash, did not mean the comedy to end without his playing a part. Raising his voice above the others, he egged on his companion to thump and kick the blind man,

saying he had money enough to settle for them with the magistrate. Ja'far Khān ended by joking, as it were, with the king, who gave him so little pay, and said: 'Now that the poor man has wine in his head he is become rich. And your Majesty will tell me after this not to drink wine! For I have to be thus (? rich) if I am to serve your Majesty, who holds such a mighty empire.' The comedy was over, Aurangzeb laughed, and Ja'far Khān kept to his old habit.[1]

[Here the manuscript has an inserted leaf, bearing a passage in French, relating a story about the four stages of drunkenness. As obviously non-historical, it is omitted.]

SHĀH 'ĀLAM GOES AGAINST SHIVĀ JĪ.

Now it is time for us to speak of the expedition on which Aurangzeb sent [120] his son Shāh 'Ālam, Bahādur—that is to say, 'King of the world, the brave.' Aurangzeb had reason to fear that Shivā Jī would not lose a chance of using his strength to wreak vengeance for the treachery that he (Aurangzeb) had plotted, and for his failure to keep the promises with which he had lured him. For this reason he called to him Shāh 'Ālam, and gave him the necessary instructions, by following which he could catch him (Shivā Jī) again.

His instructions were to take with him Rajah Jaswant Singh, to whom orders to proceed to the Dakhin were sent. The rajah was to serve under the prince. Other captains, the greatest he had, were to join, among them Diler Khān. On reaching the Dakhin, the prince was to make a campaign against Shivā Jī. But when the day of battle drew near he was to pretend to rebel, and seek the friendship of Shivā Jī. Letters were to be sent to the Mahrattah, as if he (Shāh 'Ālam) meant to rebel and claim the crown. He must also manage to make his officers subscribe to this, and agree to his intended revolt. This Aurangzeb did to discover which officers were loyal, and which desired that he should be no longer king, taking thus an opportunity of playing off some of his finessing

[1] For an account of Ja'far Khān, see note to Part I., fol. 129. He died at Āgrah in Ẕi,l Ḥijjah, 1080 (April-May, 1670) ('Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī').

tricks in order to find out those on whom he could thoroughly rely.[1]

Shāh 'Ālam, Bahādur, left Dihlī with great show, state, and strength, leaving with the king hardly more than ten thousand horsemen. His father knew that Shāh 'Ālam was not the man to revolt in reality. Thus the prince continued his march in tranquillity until he arrived at Aurangābād. Near that city he had a meeting with Shivā Jī, disguised as a cultivator from a village. It is the custom when princes pass by to present to them goats, milk, and fruit. The pretended villager laid before him a pot of milk. When the said pot was taken to the kitchen and emptied, they found a note enclosed in wax (? waxed cloth). This was carried to the prince, and it stated: 'I, Shivā Jī, desirous to know who it is that marches against me, that I may recognise him, present this pot of milk, and offer congratulations on your arrival; and if in anything I can be of service to you, I am at your orders, et cetera.' Shāh 'Ālam, Bahādur, was lost in amazement at Shivā Jī's sharpness, but that did not induce him to desist from the design of seizing him if he could.

DEATH OF A FRIAR, A MARTYR CALLED FREY JACINTO [121].

When he entered Aurangābād, one of the fugitive friars of whom I spoke (II. 61, 66, 67, 117) was living there; he had apostatized from the faith, and had turned Mahomedan. After he had been married for many years, finding himself scoffed at by Mahomedans and Christians, who wished neither

[1] Shāh 'Ālam's appointment to the Dakhin was made on the 7th Ramaẓān of the tenth year, 1077 H. (March 3, 1667). Jaswant Singh was deputed to serve under him ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 56, last line but one; 61, line 1). Grant-Duff, 99, and Elphinstone, 554, throw doubt on the rebellion of Shāh 'Ālam, real or pretended. But the 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 101, treats it as a real rebellion; therefore, something of the sort must have happened. Elphinstone objects that Jai Singh could not have joined it, because he had left the Dakhin, and was, in fact, dead, before the date assigned. In this he is misled by Catrou (edition 1715, third part, 78) and his *Jacing;* this is meant not for *Jai*, but for *Jaswant* Singh, who was both alive and in the Dakhin. Orme, 'Fragments,' 18, 19, believed in the rebellion, and so did Bhīm Sen, Jonathan Scott's authority ('History of Dekkan,' ii. 24).

his company nor his conversation, he determined to give public proof of his penitence, and remove the scandal he had caused. He went, therefore, to the *qāẓī*, to whom he said that, recognising the religion of Muḥammad was not good, he found there was in the world no other religion by which man could save his soul except the Christian religion. He informed him of two things: one, that he was not a Mahomedan; the other, that if he (the *qāẓī*) wanted to be saved he must become a Christian.

The *qāẓī* was much put out at this talk, and, imagining him to be deranged, kept the man in prison for several days. Then he called him into his presence, and asked him if he was still of the same mind. He replied as boldly as before. The *qāẓī* made efforts to make him change his mind, but the holy man, firm as ever, persisted in the truth. For this he had him bastinadoed and beaten on the face. Then, desisting for several days and reducing him by hunger, he sent for him once more and dealt with him as before, treating him most cruelly. But at the end of five or six interviews the man was always the same, and the *qāẓī* reported the case to Shāh 'Ālam, Bahādur. The prince informed the king, and Aurangzeb answered, as a strict Mahomedan, that they must endeavour in every way possible to make the man recant. Let them give him women, horses, and liberal pay, and see if in this method they could overcome him. But if he remained obstinate in his opinion, he was to be publicly beheaded.

Verily Shāh 'Ālam, Bahādur, did his best to overcome the resolve of the holy man. But he had already felt within his heart the effects of grace, and rejected wealth and promises. He spoke ill of Muḥammad, and declared clearly in the Moors' tongue, which he could speak sufficiently well, that there was no other true religion but our Christian faith. The *qāẓī* sent for a Portuguese renegade named Antonio Fernandez to catechize the man in Portuguese. He was known as a good talker, and it was thought that in the maternal tongue he could easily persuade the other man.

But the holy man, speaking with inspiration from God, told him at last [122] to withdraw, since he (Fernandez) did not

wish to listen to the truth. Thus the story comes to an end by the public beheadal of that holy man. If he caused some scandal by his evil life and his apostasy, he gave equal edification by confessing the truth, weeping over his sins, and dying for love of Christ. By this event the Christians were edified, and the Mahomedans and renegades confounded. His body was cast upon a dunghill, and a year afterwards the Portuguese managed to get the bones carried to Goa, the Christians having concealed their intention of burying them until the opportunity arose of which I speak. God avails Himself many times of men's sins to exalt them, and to show that, although to some it may appear that He has forsaken them, He may yet save us as long as we are still alive. He can make the greatest saints out of the greatest sinners.

Shāh 'Ālam negotiates with Shivā Jī.

At the time that Shāh 'Ālam was in Aurangābād he began to write to Shivā Jī,[1] hoping to draw the fox into the trap. He therefore wrote to him secretly with many professions of friendship, after which he asked for advice whether, now that he had his father's army under him and the officers on his side, he would not do well to rebel, and do as his father had done to Shāhjahān. Shivā Jī's reply was that the opportunity was favourable, and if he did not make his attempt then, it might be that he would never again have the same easy chance. Shāh 'Ālam thought that already Shivā Jī was approaching the trap, and therefore continued to send friendly letters. In them he stated that he had now made up his mind to make the attempt, but he prayed him to join in the enterprise. He pledged his word that if the plan succeeded he would without fail make him prince of all the Dakhin; he would never break his word as his father had done.

Shivā Jī, who pretended not to penetrate the designs of Aurangzeb, wrote to Shāh 'Ālam that most willingly would he join him and take vengeance upon Aurangzeb, and by his death put an end to the wars in the south. But, not having

[1] See Grant-Duff, 98, 99, years 1667, 1668; and Catrou, part iii., 77-80.

the cash required for a grand campaign, it was necessary for him to receive a large sum of money. With this he would collect his men, who at the time of his imprisonment had gone to their homes. In addition, he must have authority to plunder several wealthy towns and villages. After that task was done, he gave his word that he would join. All this was conceded by Shāh 'Ālam [123], a large sum of money was sent, and he (Shivā Jī) was allowed to plunder in all directions. By this means Shivā Jī grew rich, and recruited many men and strengthened his fortresses.

Shāh 'Ālam pretends to revolt in the Hope of seizing Shivā Jī.

During this interval Shāh 'Ālam employed his commanders in matters of little importance, strict orders being given them not to enter into the territories of Shivā Jī. From this cause these officers, who were not then in the secret, wrote letter after letter to Aurangzeb, informing him that they could not make out the intentions of Shāh 'Ālam, who was wasting their time, whilst Shivā Jī went on robbing and plundering, to the great damage of the Dakhin. Diler Khān wrote with the others, but more bitterly.[1]

But Aurangzeb, who knew the orders he had given to his son, concealed everything, and replied to the officers, telling them to obey and take no notice of Shāh 'Ālam's acts; but if he did not do well, he would recall him to court. Meanwhile he wrote letters to Shāh 'Ālam praising him for his mode of working, and told him to build a bridge of gold for Shivā Jī, so as to bring him into his camp.

Things were in this condition when Shāh 'Ālam, assuming that Shivā Jī must be now satisfied, wrote him one more letter begging him not to delay his arrival, for he (Shāh 'Ālam) began to fear his father might discover the plot he had in hand. Shivā Jī replied that he was then ready to move, but he wanted an assurance that Rajah Jaswant Singh and the other officers

[1] For the official account of the rebellion, see 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 100. The report was received after the 28th Ẕu,l Ḥijjah of the thirteenth year, 1080 H. (May 19, 1670).

had declared themselves on the prince's side. When he was quite certain of this, he would most certainly appear in the imperial camp with all his army. Satisfied with such a response, Shāh 'Ālam began to talk to Rajah Jaswant Singh, who, not being well affected to Aurangzeb, accepted the proposal at once. Thus, one by one, all of them subscribed the document, in which Shāh 'Ālam made separate promises to each.

Finding now that he had procured the signatures of the greater number of his officers to the agreement to rebel, Shāh 'Ālam ordered Diler Khān to come to him in audience, as he had something to tell him. The talk was intended to be about the rebellion, and Shāh 'Ālam hoped, by thus sending for Diler Khān the last of all, that he would be able, by pointing to the example of the others, to draw him over more easily [124] to his faction. But Diler Khān, already aware of the plot for a rebellion, put no trust in Shāh 'Ālam, knowing how very sharp-witted Aurangzeb was; hence all this plotting might be make-believe. Thus, to protect himself, he sent word to Shāh 'Ālam that he had nothing whatever to do at his audience, being in the king's service. He was there in the field, ready to go out to fight in any direction he might desire; such an order he would obey forthwith, but to his audience he would not go.

It was in vain that Shāh 'Ālam resorted to every device to bring over Diler Khān to his side, for the king was desirous of getting rid of Diler Khān out of his sight. But this general, fully experienced by this time in every subtlety, would never consent to appear in audience. He perceived that, even if Shāh 'Ālam really rose in rebellion and obtained mastery over the kingdom, he would not lose any reputation by abstention, for his proved fidelity would continue to make him esteemed.

Finding that he could not convince Diler Khān, Shāh 'Ālam passed him over and sent the document signed by the other generals to Shivā Jī. He added that, to secure the proposed object—that is, to make himself master of the kingdom by seizing his father—all that was now wanting was the aid of Shiva Jī's valour and his powerful army. With this intent he would take the field fully resolved and begin his march. He

prayed Shivā Jī earnestly not to delay, and thereby give Aurangzeb time to collect more soldiers; for he (Shāh 'Ālam) had not then under him more than ten thousand horsemen, and with them he could not resist the valour and fury of so great an army as his father's. He would publish it to all the world that his ally was the famous Shivā Jī, who was executing righteous vengeance for the treachery that Aurangzeb had practised on him.

Thus did Shāh 'Ālam take the field, announcing to the world that he was on his way to Dihlī to seize his father and crown himself king. As a demonstration that he already felt the sceptre in his hand, he granted large pay to his generals, distributed governments, granted provinces, remitted tribute. In this way the kingdom was filled with the rumour; and, as happens in rebellions, some rejoiced at the rising, others complained that they would be ruined and destroyed, that there would be an end of the prosperity then beginning to prevail in Aurangzeb's reign. All this was mere child's play; but at the head of the game were persons who meant to carry out a plot of great profit to the Mogul.

Aurangzeb feigned to be much terrified, and showed great alarm at this rebellion. To bear this out, he ordered the treasure-houses to be opened, and preparation to be made for taking the field, and he began to engage [125] additional men for his army. Meanwhile he sent Fidā,e Khān, with the ten thousand horsemen then present, to hold the fords on the river Chambal, where Dārā had taken up his position against Aurangzeb at the first battle of which I spoke (I. 184). He then got ready mules and camels to be loaded with gold, as if in preparation for flight. He started a rumour to that effect.

Fidā,e Khān, to show what a valiant man he was, after having erected his tents at the place alluded to, sent a message to the king that he might take his ease. For, so long as one soldier was left in the camp, Shāh 'Ālam should never be allowed to advance; and even if any disaster happened, His Majesty would still have time to retire whenever he pleased. Fidā,e Khān was a brave soldier, of whom I shall have something to say farther on (II. 152), but he was guilty of this

rhodomontade with the idea of procuring the royal favour. He had already some idea of the real state of the case.

Aurangzeb simulated fear in the hope of increasing Shivā Jī's willingness to join the undertaking, and of a truth it was necessary to be very skilful if you were to hit the bull's-eye through all this deception. Having great natural judgment, and by this time great experience, Shivā Jī mocked at the cunning fox, after having attained his own ends by adding to his own wealth and power. For, in place of joining Shāh 'Alam, he wrote him a letter in which he said that, since Aurangzeb had only ten thousand horsemen, while he (Shāh 'Ālam) had over one hundred and twenty thousand combatants, he might march by himself on the said enterprise. It was very easy of accomplishment. He would take care that no one should come to seize the Dakhin, and he gave his word that during that time he would not realize for himself any more of the revenue than what Aurangzeb had conceded to him when viceroy of the Dakhin.

Shāh 'Ālam was thunderstruck at such a reply, which he sent on at once to the king. Nevertheless, he continued his march to prove that he was in earnest, and dispatched letter upon letter to Shivā Jī, begging him not to desert him at this crisis. For it was on his advice alone that he had made up his mind to enter on such an undertaking; if he did not assist him, it was impossible to carry out the enterprise. Of a truth, anyone else than Shivā Jī would have fallen into the net. But he stuck firmly to his text, that he would not meet the Mogul army otherwise than sword in hand and ready to cut off heads. He merely sent word that the prince ought to proceed and deliver battle. If by ill-luck any harm happened to him, he had always a friend on whom he could rely. The officers who had signed the paper solicited Shāh 'Ālam not to desert them, nor leave the king time to collect [126] an army. Thus they continued the march, already assured, as they thought, of victory and of a new king.

THE DECEPTION IS DISCOVERED.

When quite certain that his plot had ended in smoke, that it was impossible to cheat Shivā Jī, and there was a fear that

through the insistence of the officers, chiefly of Rajah Jaswant Singh, fiction might be turned into reality, Aurangzeb sent off an officer called Abduljāfar ('Abd-ul-ja'far).[1] His orders were to seize with one hand Shāh 'Ālam's horse's rein, and with the other hold out to him a letter, adding in a loud voice that by order of the Great Aurangzeb he must return to the place whence he had come, nor advance a single step farther.

At such words Shāh 'Ālam, Bahādur, betrayed terror; his face grew pale, and he now displayed not valour, but consternation. He ordered a retreat upon Burhānpur and Aurangābād. The reader may here imagine for himself the fear and confusion into which the generals were thrown. They were discovered as traitors, while Diler Khān passed on in pride, not having accepted the proposal. It is certainly the fact that they were all greatly perturbed, knowing that if Aurangzeb did not pardon traitors who were of use to him, he would certainly never pardon those who had wanted to thrust him forth from the royal seat.

The war against Shivā Jī began anew; but Aurangzeb had lost trust in the generals in the Dakhin and displaced them, sending other captains in their place. Among others he sent Bahādur Khān. The displaced officers were sent elsewhere as viceroys and governors, and he kept them ever on the move from one government to another so long as he lived. Rajah Jaswant Singh was dispatched to the other side of the river Indus.[2] The rajah, although he made terrible grimaces, still obeyed, for fear that Aurangzeb might attack him and ruin his family. Shāh 'Ālam went off to Aurangābād, abandoning to Bahādur Khān charge of the campaign against Shivā Jī. To the new commander Aurangzeb issued orders to defend the Dakhin from the ravaging of Shivā Jī; he was also ordered to attack Bījāpur. Aurangzeb saw that unless he occupied that kingdom,

[1] The 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 101, says Iftikhār Khān (Sulṭān Ḥusain) was sent. For this man, see 'M.-ul-U.,' i. 252; he died in 1092 H. (1681-82).

[2] Jaswant Singh was made *thānahdār* of Jamrūd (in the Khaibar Pass) in the fourteenth year, 1082 H. (1671). Bahādur Khān's appointment to the Dakhin was made in Shawwāl of the sixteenth year, 1083 H. (January-February, 1673). On this occasion he was granted the title of Khān Jahān, Bahādur ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 109, line 10; 127, last line).

he would never be able to destroy Shivā Jī. But of these campaigns I will speak hereafter (II. 157), so that I may not depart from the order of time.

THE *MUNDIYAHS* OR SHAVELINGS MARCH ON DIHLĪ. [127]

Among Hindū holy mendicants is a class of people who shave off all the hair from their body, not even sparing their eyebrows. This is why they are called *Monddias* (*Muṇḍā*), which means 'shaven.' They collect from all directions at a place of pilgrimage, forty leagues distant from Dihlī, and the assembly amounts to some twenty-five thousand upon the bathing-day. The bathing is in a great lake adjoining the country of Kīrat Singh, younger son of Rajah Jai Singh.[1] After the bathing ceremonies were completed, an old sorceress told them that if they would follow her orders she would make them masters of the city of Dihlī, the king not having more than ten thousand horsemen, because all his other troops had gone with Shāh 'Ālam on the expedition against Shivā Jī, of which I have spoken (II. 20).

They agreed to the proposal, and marched with such vigour that when the news reached the court Aurangzeb was particularly disturbed in mind, and sent out against them his ten thousand horsemen. The *Muṇḍās* fought with such vigour, upheld by the sorceries of the old woman, that they routed Aurangzeb's army. At this result he was more disturbed than ever. They had already arrived within fifteen leagues of Dihlī, when he ordered out all the troops he had been able to raise. Continuous reports were to be sent to him of what went on. But he felt that these men would never have undertaken such a great attempt without the help of sorcery. He therefore wrote out himself several papers, and sent them to be hung on the

[1] This description would apply to the Pohkar Lake, west of Ajmer. Elphinstone, 557, giving the year 1087 H. (1676), says the rioters were Satnāmīs from Nārnol (lat. 28° 1′, long. 76° 11′), 150 miles, at least, north of Pohkar. There is a bathing-day at Pohkar on every full moon, but October is the principal gathering. The 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 114, 115 (Elliot and Dowson, vii. 185), says that on the 26th Ẕu,l Qa'dah of the fifteenth year, 1082 H. (March 26, 1672), Ra'dandāz Khān was sent out against the Satnāmīs, a set of low-caste men. See also Khāfī Khān, ii. 252 (Elliot and Dowson, vii. 294).

heads of the elephants and horses, and on the standards, fatiguing himself greatly with the preparation of all those papers.

It may be that some will give no credence to this my narrative; but it is the common fate of historians to be believed by some and doubted by others. I state the truth in saying that if the fact were not thus, I should not so write it. Nor should the reader be at all amazed that Aurangzeb should act in this way, for he is a past master in witchcraft, as may be inferred from the sacrifice of spice which he is used to offer up, as I have mentioned (II. 1). If he wearied himself thus, it was from the great importance of the matter, for it was a question of losing kingdom and life, since, without exaggeration, Aurangzeb found himself at this moment in greater danger than at any time in the rest of his life, because, as I have said, he had very few troops. But the strength of these magical writings overcame the *Muṇḍās*, since, elated at having gained one battle, they would not consent to march any farther, although urged on by the old woman. Then the spells of Aurangzeb prevailed [128] over those of the old woman, and the *Muṇḍās* were shaved of their heads, nearly all dying, including the old woman herself. Aurangzeb came out of this affair with the reputation of a saint, as if through miracles he had put to flight these *faqīrs*. When I reached Dihlī, of which I am about to speak, I found that the cannon were still in position in the plain.[1]

OF WHAT HAPPENED TO ME IN GOA, AND HOW I LEFT IT.

I stopped in Goa a year and three months. It is a place with a climate suited to men from forty up to old age; but it is very unhealthy for young men. Thus a few months after my arrival I fell ill and could never recover my health. Therefore I retired to the convent of the Italian Carmelite priests, where I

[1] According to this assertion, Manucci must have reached Dihlī again about the middle of 1672. If he reached Goa in the spring of 1667, and stayed fifteen months, he left it about September, 1668; the rest of the time may be accounted for by the journey, and by his stay in Aurangābād and Āgrah. But the interval seems rather a long one.

was well received and attended to for six months, during which I continued unwell.[1]

The ordinary diseases of this country are *mort-de-chien* (cholera) —that is, colic of the bowels with vomiting and laxity—and this complaint is the death of many. The best remedy is to burn with a red-hot iron the middle of the heel until the heat is felt, and by this the pain is allayed and the discharge and vomiting stopped.[2] Other complaints are spleen, the itch, and fevers. This is why the residents of Goa have bad complexions, although they have abundance of food, principally fruits.

Among these is the mango, the best-flavoured fruit in India, and of it I will speak in the Third Part of my work (III. 228, 229). In Goa the gentlemen are very particular about having good kinds of this fruit. They give them special names, taken from the first person to have good mangoes of that kind. Thus they speak of mangoes of Niculao Afonço, which are the largest and best; Melajassas mangoes, and Carreynas mangoes. Among the other fruits are figs,[3] very sweet, but not of the same composition as those of Europe; they are a palm in length, more or less, and of various kinds. There are a quantity of *Jacas* (Jack-fruit), like large melons growing on the bark of the tree, with strong sharp thorns on the rind. There are two kinds—the *barca* Jack and the *papa* Jack, the nature of which I will state in my Third Part (III. 230). There are other kinds of fruit which I will not mention at present. But I referred to the above because they are better [129] and finer-looking here than elsewhere.

1 For an account of the Carmelite convent, see J. N. da Fonseca, 'Goa' (Bombay, 1878), p. 256, and No. 22 of his map.

2 See 'Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses,' edition 1781, xi. 159, note, where Père Martin, S.J., quotes N. M. as recommending this treatment (a reference kindly given me by Professor Zachariae, of Halle). Manucci refers elsewhere to this treatment. It is also mentioned by contemporaries as a usual remedy (see, for instance, 'Nouveau Voyage,' 1726, by Le Sieur Luillier, p. 220; see also Part III., 49, 186).

3 From the description these must be meant for the plantain or banana. It is strange he does not use one of these names, which were known and in use long before his time. But Yule, 56, quoting Pyrard de Laval, *circa* 1610, says the Portuguese called the banana the 'Indian fig.' *Barca* and *papa* are two kinds of Jack-fruit (Yule, 443).

The viceroy when I arrived was Antonio de Mello de Castro,[1] who died afterwards a prisoner in Portugal, through good works of thieving, et cetera, of which he had been guilty in India. To replace him came Joaõ Nunes da Cunha, and this new governor as soon as he arrived undertook a great expedition. He kept his object secret, and it would have resulted in great honour to the Portuguese, if those who were envious of his earning this glory had not impeded its execution. There came from Masqaṭ, a fortress on the Arabian coast formerly belonging to the Portuguese, which by their negligence they lost,[2] when it passed into the hands of an Arabian prince—there came (I say) from this fortress to Goa a Portuguese named Andre da Andrada, who was commander of artillery there and passed for a Mahomedan. This man pledged his word to the new viceroy to deliver over the fortress if a strong fleet appeared before it by sea, and to secure that end he would spike the guns.

The viceroy took up the proposal and hired a strong fleet of good ships and frigates for this service. But he let no one know what he meant to do; and from this secrecy the Dutch dreaded some sudden blow at them, as they could not find out what such preparations were meant for. By the distribution of copious bribes in all directions they won over several of the officers. The viceroy, being desirous of equipping his ships well, ordered the embarkation by force of every valid man, compelled the better class of the Portuguese from the northern parts to come to Goa, and directed that no one should be allowed to quit the place. Thus, when the ships were well fitted out, he made over sealed instructions to the captains, with the order not to open them until arrival at a certain latitude.

Thus the fleet set sail without anyone knowing its destination.

[1] The twenty-ninth Viceroy, Antonio de Mello e Castro, was appointed on March 11, 1662, and received the title of Viceroy in 1663. He arrived in Bombay on September 29, 1662. His successor (thirtieth Viceroy), Joaõ Numes da Cunha, Conde de Saõ Vicente, was appointed March 11, arrived at Goa October 11, and took charge October 17, 1666. He died in India on November 6, 1668 ('Ensaios sobre a Estatisca das possessioẽs Portuguezas no oultra mar,' ii Serie, Livro V., Lisbon, 1862; and Danvers, ii. 327, 363, 364).

[2] It capitulated on October 31, 1648 (F. Danvers, ii.296).

But the bribed pilots and captains sailed hither and thither with the ships, without overcoming the contrary winds, until they reached the appointed latitude, where the letters of instructions were opened, and some of them managed secretly to tamper with the water-casks, so that all the water was lost. The fault was put upon the viceroy, who, in his desire for haste, had not given time to prepare the ships properly. Thus there put into port only one frigate, which, in obedience to orders, anchored at Bandar Congo[1] on the Arabian coast, a Portuguese territory that now belongs to the King of Persia. There it waited some time for its companions until it was obliged to return to Goa, to avoid capture by those of Masqaṭ, who profited by the treason.

I GO TO DIHLĪ.

At the time of this expedition I was anxious to quit Goa; but I could not do it in lay clothing.[2] I therefore left in the garb of a Carmelite monk until I had got beyond the district of Goa and had entered the territory of Bījāpur, of which Shivā Jī had already taken possession. There I returned to my ordinary costume, and placed myself under the guidance of Divine Providence. I prayed God to deliver me from many perils, above all from robbers. For, a little time before my arrival, they had at a certain place murdered fifteen persons. Nor did they murder me as I passed by, but when they might have done it they saw me to be poor and a foreigner. A few paces farther on I met a traveller near some cattle-sheds who was escaping in haste, and he warned me to press onwards because the people following us were robbers. But, weakened by illness, I could not keep up with the pace of the man, who was acting as my guide in a country I did not know. I passed several *chungams*,[3] which are places where they collect money from people passing. The severity they exercise upon travellers is

[1] Bandar Congo, on the northern shore of the Persian Gulf, about 100 miles west of Gombroon (Bandar 'Abbās) (Yule, 246).

[2] *I.e.*, because the Viceroy had prohibited all departures.

[3] The Portuguese is *juncoens*. The 'Madras Manual of Ad.,' iii. 183, gives it as *chunkam* (Malālayam), 'duty tax,' but more probably connected, I think, with Hindī *chungī*, market dues, town duties, a handful of produce taken as rent. In

great, depriving them of the smallest piece of money to be found upon them, with no tenderness for the poor, taking from them in default of money their shirts, coats, and sheets.

Having come to the boundary of the Bījāpur territory near the river Bimbra (Bhīmā),[1] I stopped for the night in a village called Pandarapur (Pandharpur);[2] and on my arrival I took up my quarters in a public *bāzār*, as is the custom of travellers, and deposited myself in an open shop. Some people passing said my waistcloth was crammed with pearls. I answered that I was only a poor traveller. God was good to me that night! For at midnight the robbers entered the village, and the first thing they did was to come to the shop where I had put up. As they began by throwing a number of stones, I sought refuge inside, dragging with me a servant boy whom I had with me, to prevent his being killed. They did not venture inside, but shouted for me to fling out whatever I had, thrusting with their spears and cutting with their swords at the door. I assured them that I could fling out nothing, for I was a poor man, having nothing with me. Such was the terror that throttled me [131] that I could not utter a word, for I remembered what had been said to me that evening, that I had a waistbelt full of pearls, and I believed that they had come resolved to take my life; therefore I threw out two chains,[3] each of which might be worth some fifty rupees. They made off, robbing the *bāzār* and killing people, so that there was great tribulation in the village.

Not considering myself safe in that shop, I sallied forth, and traversing the streets I reached a house where I halted, and

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our early records the word appears as *juncan*, and the collectors of it as *juncaneers*. See the statement of their old rights drawn up by the Madras Council in December, 1711, printed in the appendix to C. R. Wilson's 'Surman Embassy'; see also Burnell's articles 'Junkameer' and 'Junkeon' (Yule, 473).

[1] The Bhīmā rises in lat. 19° 5′, long. 73° 35′, in Pūnā district, and falls into the Kistnā, lat. 16° 20′, long. 77° 20′, after a course of 380 miles (Thornton, 'Gazetteer,' 82, Beema).

[2] Pandharpur, on the Bhīmā. It is the place where Gangadhar Shāstrī, the Gāekwar's minister, was murdered in 1815, and lies 112 miles south-east of Pūnā (Thornton, 'Gazetteer,' 789, Punderpoor).

[3] The text has *colehas*, which is either unmeaning or inappropriate (*colehas* = counterpanes). Mr. Dames suggests *cadehas*, *cadeas*, 'chains,' which I adopt.

finding the door open, I ascended some steps and reached a terraced roof. Here I fancied myself in security. But the owner of the house, who had heard the outcry in the village, came out of his room with sword and shield. On seeing me, he ordered me roughly to make my way downstairs. I told him I was a foreigner who had fled from the *bāzār*, where the thieves had robbed me, and to save my life had taken refuge there, finding the door open. This did not persuade him to let me remain, but he insisted on my departing. I was content that he even let me go unharmed, for on hearing his first talk, I feared me much he was about to finish off what the robbers had begun.

I now went to the steps of a temple, where many persons had taken shelter out of the way of the arrows flying about the streets and the sword-blows being distributed in all directions. Nor was it without some trouble that I got in even there. Next a Brahman refused to let me stop, thrusting me forth by force. But God repaid him for his want of charity, for while he was interfering with me, there came an arrow and hit him on the leg and I was rid of him. The thieves withdrew, and I, too, found a refuge again in the *bāzār*, but not in the same shop, for I feared greatly they might come there once more. I spent the night in the discomfort that everyone can imagine. At dawn, feeling much afflicted, I chewed a clove, washing it down with a little warm water, whereupon I vomited several clots of thickened blood, and felt relieved.

I continued my journey up to the crossing on the river [? the Bhīma]. Although it is wide, there were no boats; I crossed seated on a small bedstead attached to the tops of four pots. I then reached Paranda (Parendā),[1] in the Mogul territory, where I came across my friends of the fortress of Bhakkar. They took compassion on my poverty, regaled me, succoured me with money, clothes, and a mount, on which I resumed my travels and arrived at Aurangābād [132].

[1] Parendā, now in the Naldrūg district of the Nizam's dominions, lat. 18° 16′, long. 75° 30′ There is an old fortress erected by Maḥmūd Gāwan, a minister of the Bahmanī kings. The district was incorporated in the Mogul Empire by Aurangzeb when Viceroy of the Dakhin (Syed Hossain and C. Willmott, 'Historical and Descriptive Sketch,' ii. 707; Bombay, 1884).

Travelling is a teacher of many things, and he who wanders without learning anything can only be said to have the head of an ass. The horse given me by Manoel Ribeiro at Parenda had only a few days before arrived from Dihlī, a journey of forty-six days, and it was thus much out of condition. It happened one day that my servant opened his bag, in which he had a nutmeg, and by carelessness he left this nut on the ground, and the horse ate it. Next day, on mounting, I noticed that he was much more lively in his gait. I did not know the cause of this freshness; then I remembered he had eaten a nut the night before, and I concluded that must be the cause. Nor was I wrong, for, giving him each day one nut, he became ever more ready and clever.

After my arrival in Aurangābād I lived retired. This was the time at which, as I have related (II. 122-124), Shāh 'Ālam was busy trying to get hold of Shivā Jī, and I was informed of the friar's death in the way that I have recounted (II. 121). I went on through Burhānpur, where I found several friends among the servants of Jai Singh, all disconsolate at the death of that great general. I felt his death very much, although I had no intention of re-entering his service, for I wanted to start as a doctor. Thence I went on to Āgrah, where I visited the Jesuit fathers, and reported to them what was going on at Goa. I did not stay long, but passed on to Dihlī. Thereupon, on learning of my arrival, there was no fail of women who proposed marriage to me and sent me cloth and money and banquets of food. One of them sent me fifty gold coins and a horse, and handsome stuff to make me clothes. I went to see Kīrat Singh, the younger son of Rajah Jai Singh, who, in remembrance of the great affection his father held me in, and which he continued to me, gave me a set of robes, two horses, and five rupees every day, and a handsome house to live in. By this means those envious of my good fortune, who had expected to see me under the necessity of applying to them for my expenses, knowing that I was out of service, were in amazement at seeing me well dressed, owning horses, and keeping servants. Any foreigner who is out of employment can only subsist in a miserable fashion in that country.

AURANGZEB REMITS THE TOBACCO TAX.

On reaching Dihlī, I heard that only a short time before the king had withdrawn the tobacco tax, owing to a horrible event that happened. All the world knows [133] that the tax-contractors who engage for the taxes and duties are most shameless and mannerless. They spare no respectable persons, except those of the highest position, and that chiefly when Mahomedans, such persons being, as they know, very easily roused. It happened that a soldier of strict habits wanted to enter the city, having with him his wife in a covered vehicle, as usual among Mahomedans. A tax-gatherer ordered him to halt, and asked if he had any tobacco. The Mahomedans consume a great deal of this article in smoking. This is why the chief tax-farmer paid five thousand rupees a day at this city (Dihlī) only. From this the reader can understand what would be the revenue from tobacco paid to the King of Hindūstān throughout such a great empire.

The soldier replied that he, being a man of serious habits, did not smoke tobacco, neither he nor his wife, who was in the vehicle, and he might trust his word. The tax-collector would not believe him, and wanted to search the cart. To this the soldier would not consent, not wishing his wife to be seen in public, and remonstrated, saying if such an affront were done him, he would repent of it later on. But the tax-collector would not listen to a word, and uncovered the vehicle to make his search. The soldier laid hand on his sword and cut off the man's head, also wounded several attendants. Not content with this even, he killed his wife too, and a daughter she had with her. He was seized and carried off to prison, and a complaint was laid before the king. Upon hearing the soldier's defence, the king abolished the tax and released the soldier, having compassion on him for his loss of temper. Among the Mahomedans it is a great dishonour for a family when a wife is compelled to uncover herself. By this event tobacco was no longer so dear, and numerous merchants lost much from this circumstance, whereby the king conferred a benefit on the poor.

I GO TO LĀHOR AND DECLARE MYSELF AS A PHYSICIAN.

I lived in Dihlī one year in splendid style, having honourable means of making money. Then, by the king's order, Kīrat Singh went to Kābul,[1] and I determined to move to Lāhor and give myself out as a doctor. I could not start this at Dihlī, where there were already some Europeans, while in Lāhor there was none.

On reaching Lāhor I found that Muḥammad Amīn Khān was governor, Aurangzeb having kept his promise to make him a viceroy.[2] As soon as [134] I arrived I put up in the *sarāe* with my grand carpets and my petty establishment, until I could find a house. I hired one belonging to Barqandāz Khān, my commander in Dārā's time (I. 156, 240), and I instructed my servants to inform everyone who asked about me that I was a Farangī doctor. Through this many came to talk with me, and in return I had no want of words, God having given me a sufficiently mercurial temperament. Thus it began to be noised in Lāhor that a Frank doctor had arrived, a man of fine manners, eloquent speech, and great experience. I rejoiced at such a reputation, but my heart beat fast, for then I had had no experience. It pleased God, our Sovereign Lord, to open the door to me with a case furnished me by his Divine Providence.

There came to me in the house where I had settled an old woman, who told me that the wife of the *qāẓī* was very ill, and given up by all the Persian and Indian physicians. She requested the favour of my proceeding to the *qāẓī's* house to see the woman, and decide whether there was any cure; for all the doctors had said that if anyone cured her they would burn all their books and profess themselves disciples of him who cured her. I put several questions about the illness of the woman; I told

[1] There must be a mistake here, for Kīrat Singh died in the Dakhin just before the 28th Rabī' II. of the sixteenth year, 1084 H. (August 12, 1673) ('M.-i-'Ā.,' 128). He was the father-in-law of Muḥammad 'Aẓīm, Shāh 'Ālam's second son.

[2] Muḥammad Amīn Khān became Governor of Lāhor in the tenth year, 1078 H. (between June, 1667, and February, 1668) ('M.-i-'Ā.,' 63, line 1). In the thirteenth year, 1080 H. (January, 1670, to January, 1671), he was sent to Kābul, vice Mahābat Khān (*ibid.*, 104, line 11). The latter dates do not quite fit Manucci's narrative if he did not arrive at Dihlī until 1672.

the messenger to return home and I would follow, saying that, although the complaint seemed mortal, I would see if there was any remedy.

I mounted my horse and rode to the *qāẓī's* house, followed by my servants. Entering the house, I felt the patient's pulse. The attack was growing more and more severe, and no pulse could be felt, nor could I find out the seat of the disease. I trusted more to several secret experiments I knew, and to my questions. I racked my brains to think of something I could give to the patient that might do her good. I asked if she had been relieved, and they told me that for days she did not know what thing a motion was. This sufficed for me to start my treatment, and I told the old woman that the only thing was to administer a clyster. The old woman and the patient's son were much opposed to this, the Mahomedans having objections to this treatment. But the patient was already speechless. I said: *Agar zarūrat bāyad, rawā bakhshad*—that is, 'Necessity has no law'—which are words of the Qurān. Thus they gave in to my resorting to this treatment, and I told the old woman to come to my house in a few hours, and I would give her all that was required for the application.

I came forth from this house leaving [135] an excellent impression from my many questions and my copious flow of talk. But now came the moment when our Nicolao Manuchy found himself in a difficulty. For I knew not what ingredients I must employ, nor to what implements I could have recourse for this wonderful operation. After much searching of heart, I recollected that the enemas administered to me at Goa were concocted of mallows, wild endive, and some other herbs, with a trifle of bran, black sugar, salt, olive oil, and *Canna fistula*. I sent out for these things, and made a concoction. But the greatest difficulty was to get the instrument. For this I sent and got a cow's udder, and for the tube I took a piece of cane from a *huqqah* snake, through which the Mahomedans draw their tobacco. I managed to put these together in a manner that would serve. I placed the concoction into the udder, and fastened the tube to it. Then the old woman came, and to her I made over the injection, teaching her how she was to

deal with it. I enjoined on her to come and inform me when the operation had been performed.

I declared to her that if in a period of three hours the enema did not take effect, the patient had no hope of life. It was advisable for me to make this assertion, since, should the patient die I could say I had foretold the result as inevitable. This was necessary to keep my reputation intact. Off went the old woman, and my heart began to beat hard, knowing not what effect the medicine might have. Soon I heard a knocking at my door as by one in haste. My anxiety was redoubled. It might be the news of the patient's death, through which I should lose the reputation that I was in search of. For the Mahomedans easily assign one a reputation, and as easily take it away. A happy cure at the start suffices to give the greatest credit, even if the cure be a mere accident. On the contrary, if there is a failure in the first case, even when the doctor is exceedingly learned and experienced, it suffices to prevent him ever being esteemed.

I sent to have the door opened, when the old woman fell at my feet and gave me many blessings, telling me that the patient had already begun to mend, that she had had a large stool with great violence, voiding pellets as hard as camel-dung. Thus she urgently prayed me to visit the *qāẓī's* house to see the patient and continue the cure. Proud and elated by this news, I told her how necessary it was to confide in experienced physicians, that if I had not given her this medicament, composed of ingredients [136] known to me alone, the patient was bound to die. I went and found the patient had already begun to speak, and recognise everyone who was present. She was very different from what she had been for some days, for they told me that she knew no one and could not speak. I thought it advisable to discharge nature farther, so I gave her a light medicine, continuing it daily until the system was well cleansed. Then, with chicken-broth and *bezoar* stone,[1] I began to strengthen the patient in such a way that in a few days she was restored to perfect health.

[1] Hard concretions found in the stomach of certain animals, supposed in the East to be of medicinal value (Yule, 90).

This case became notorious among the principal men in Lāhor, for this wife was much loved by her husband, the *qāẓī*, so that he had called in all the physicians to treat her disease. Thus there began to be talk of the Farangī doctor who was capable of resuscitating the dead. This caused me to be called in by many sick persons, and by adhering to certain books I had, I succeeded by God's favour in almost every case in which I was sent for.

My fame reached the court of Muḥammad Amīn Khān, governor of the city and viceroy of the province of Lāhor. He sent for me, and after a long conversation on the subject of diseases and good health, he wanted to make me take service with him, offering me little pay but great liberty. But I knew the style of man, very haughty, far from genial, just like the character of his father, Mīr Jumlah. So I said that as to becoming his servant, I objected; still, I should not fail to appear at the palace whenever necessary, either for himself or for those of his family. He was a little put out by my answer, but I paid no attention to that, for I was already on friendly terms with the chief people in the city, and by God's blessing my practice was successful. Thus I knew of a certainty that, in spite of Muḥammad Amīn Khān's desire to do me an injury, he would never dare. He would not give such an opening to the other nobles to make complaint of him at the court of Dihlī. On the other hand, although he was much aggrieved at my not frequenting his audiences, he betrayed no anger, for he saw I was of use for attending his wives and sons. There happened to me a terrible business at the time of his departure from Lāhor for Kābul, of which I will speak in its proper place (II. 150).

Origin and Description of the City of Lāhor. [137]

Meanwhile I know the reader will be pleased at learning the origin of this great city of Lāhor where I made my fortune, since I have exact information of how it came to be built. I feel under an obligation to write about its origin as a mark of my gratitude to a city which did me such signal benefit. The

reader will get a lesson from the fidelity of a slave, and learn how sometimes in persons of lowly birth lies hidden great nobility of heart. Thus the origin of Lāhor was as follows.

There was a Sulṭān Maḥmūd Cazinizi (G͟haznavī), a Mahomedan King of Kābul, who styled himself King of G͟haznī, because these kings then held their court in that city. It stood between Kābul and Qandahār, but is to-day in ruins. This king had a slave called Meleq K͟haṣ (Malik K͟hāṣ),[1] which means 'Chosen Noble.' This title was given him because while still a child he had great sense, as he showed on the occasion of which I here tell the story.

There came to the king an ambassador from Persia, who had a handsome and very expert slave. Since Sulṭan Maḥmūd was very fond of seeing these creatures when expert, he talked with the ambassador on the qualities of his slave. The ambassador gave high praise to his boy, saying that he had a good understanding and was most exact at his duties. Sulṭan Maḥmūd wanted to try an experiment on this boasted good judgment. There arrived at the city a number of loaded horses and camels, and the king asked the ambassador to send his slave to find out what they were. The slave went, and brought back the simple answer that it was a caravan come from Persia. On hearing this reply, Sulṭan Maḥmūd said to the ambassador that he, too, had a slave, and he wished to see if he had more judgment and was more exact. He called to his presence Malik K͟hāṣ, and told him to go to the spot and find what people they were who had come into the city. Malik K͟hās went, and in a short while came back with the answer that it was a caravan from Iṣfahān: it left on such and such a day of the month, rested so many days on the way, reached Qazwīn in so many days; it had two leaders, giving the name of both; in the caravan were so many mules, so many horses, and so many camels. It consisted of such and such merchandise, and would halt for such and such a time, and they sought [138] such and such goods for the return journey to Persia. The ambassador was

[1] More probably it ought to be read G͟hiyāṣ, meaning Abu,l Fatḥ, G͟hiyāṣ-ud-dīn Muḥammad, though, of course, he was not a slave, but a Malik (prince); nor was he a contemporary of Maḥmūd G͟haznavī.

XVII. Sultān Kām Bakhsh, Fifth Son of Aurangzeb.

in astonishment to see a slave of such tender years give such a minute report of the Cāfilah, and acknowledged there was a great difference between his and the king's slave.

Malik Khāṣ grew up, and was found to be capable of great office. The king, who loved him much, raised him up to be his chief minister, on whom the whole government depended. Courts are very fertile in envy, and occasions of uneasiness were not wanting to Malik Khāṣ. The nobles could not endure that a slave should hold so excellent an office, and they told against this loyal servitor all the wicked stories they could invent. But the king already knew the fidelity and the love of his slave, and paid no heed to these envious speeches. One of the things that these enviers of others' good fortune persuaded the king to do, was to enter without any warning the room of Malik Khāṣ, where he would be found, they said, writing treasonable letters to the hurt of the kingdom and the king.

Sulṭān Maḥmūd gave way to the wishes of his courtiers, and he found Malik Khāṣ taking a rest on his bed. At the entry of the king, Malik Khāṣ opened his eyes, and finding it was the king, he shut them again; and the king approaching, through the love he held to him kissed him and retired. From this the envious men found an opening for saying to the king that Malik Khāṣ no longer paid respect to His Majesty, for though aware of his sovereign's appearance in the room, seeing he had opened his eyes, he had not attempted to move, and had dissembled his knowledge out of hauteur. He forgot that, however great he may be, a servant is always a servant, and must honour his lord. If Malik Khāṣ had done no other offence, this act of disrespect to His Majesty sufficed; he deserved to be disgraced and expelled from the court.

Sulṭān Maḥmūd tried to make excuses for his favourite, saying his closing the eyes was out of respect and not disrespect. Nevertheless, he would like to know the truth from Malik Khāṣ himself. Therefore he caused him to be sent for to audience, and before everybody made a pretence of being provoked, and complained of Malik Khāṣ' pride, who shut his eyes in order not to have to rise and pay his duty to his lord when accompanied by the greatest in the kingdom. The slave asked leave to state his

excuses and his reasons. In the hearing of them all he said that, worn out in doing the king service, he was taking a rest, and he quite well saw His Majesty enter into his [139] room. But, ignorant of His Majesty's intention in coming, he shut his eyes, so as to afford him the greatest liberty to do what he wanted. Even were it intended to behead him he was quite prepared for it, being but a slave; and when aware of his kissing him, he did not move for fear of inconveniencing His Majesty. The king was satisfied, finding the reply of his servant in conformity with the conclusion he had come to himself.

This did not make the envious cease their efforts; they employed spies to follow Malik Khāṣ and find out everything he did. Then they went to Sulṭān Maḥmūd and told him that every day Malik Khāṣ, before he came to audience, went into his garden, where in one corner was a little house, and in it a box. He entered the room alone and closed the door, so that no one could know what he was doing, and it might be that he performed some spell to procure His Majesty's affection, or went there to conceal some treasonable papers. The king told Malik Khāṣ to prepare a banquet; he and the grandees wished to resort to his garden to disport themselves. The obedient servant made no demur. The king went with his greatest nobles, and in promenading round the garden, the envious men brought the king past the said house. Making a sign to him, they succeeded in making him ask for the key of the said hut. On entering, he found it full of cobwebs and an old box lying in a corner. Pretending to laugh at such a treasure-house, he asked what precious thing was hidden in that lovely chest. His slave replied that there was nothing fit to show His Majesty, nor, as the box was old, was it fit for putting precious things in.

These words were quite enough to make the courtiers urge the king not to come out until he knew and had seen what thing was preserved in such an escritoire. Malik Khāṣ resisted for a time, until the king himself said he wanted to see what was in the box. Malik Khāṣ drew out the key from his pocket, opened the box, and satisfied the hunger and thirst, from which his enemies were suffering, for getting hold of something to ruin the faithful man. The box was opened, and it was found that there

was nothing in it but an old and rusty sickle and a peasant's hairy cloak. They were all astonished at finding there was in the box nothing of any value in the eyes of men; and where they had tried to catch Malik K͟hāṣ and ruin him, they were only the means of making [140] him still greater, as so often results to those unjustly persecuted. If princes allow time to do its work and are not precipitate, they can always attain certainty about the machinations of the envious. The king asked the reason of his retaining such articles, and why, every day before going to court, he shut himself up in that room. The wise Malik K͟hāṣ replied that, aware of the bounties the king had conferred and was conferring every day upon him, he dreaded he might grow proud. Therefore he came every day to behold the sickle and the cloak, so as to be reminded that if, by any evil deed, he came to be banished from court, he would be forced to live as his father had done, wearying himself in the sun cutting herbs and grass. Having this consideration fresh in his head, he ever renewed his resolve to serve his lord with fidelity.

At this time they recognised the meaning of these words, which were often on his lips: '*Malik K͟hāṣ ! jāe k͟hūd-rā shinās*'—that is, 'Malik K͟hāṣ, know your place.' This he said because, finding a kingdom in his power, he felt at times a temptation to pride and to rebellion. It was to say, as it were, that he had no cause to exalt himself, being of such lowly extraction. If those who are the favourites of fortune at any king's or prince's court could remember that it was merely luck, and that they might fall once more into worse condition, princes would have more loyal servants, and the great would not be so ready to look down upon the humble.

Malik K͟hāṣ did one thing which was of great profit to the king, wherein he acted as a man of wisdom. Sulṭān Maḥmūd was a great hater of heathendom, and had as his nickname 'Destroyer of Temples.' It happened that in a battle he (Malik K͟hāṣ) overcame the Hindūs, and, destroying a temple, carried to the king one of the images, which the Hindūs wished to redeem by a large payment. Sulṭān Maḥmūd assembled his council, and all voted for his taking the money, with which he could then continue the war against the Hindūs, and thus

destroy them utterly. The king would not carry out the decision of his councillors until he had heard the opinion of Malik Khāṣ. He said to the king that it was not a good proposal, since His Majesty's greatest fame and glory was to be known as the Destroyer of Temples. If he took this money, he would be henceforth called the 'Vendor of [141] Temples'; thus would he come to lose the great name he had. Better were it to order the image to be destroyed in his own presence; it had a large abdomen. Sulṭān Maḥmūd listened to the words of his wise and faithful servant, and there and then ordered a mace to be brought, and the image to be broken. Hidden in the abdomen there was a great quantity of precious stones, pearls of great price, and other valuables. In this way he (Malik Khāṣ) preserved the good name of his master without losing the money to be obtained by selling the image. On the contrary, a great deal more was gained.

Finally, Sulṭān Maḥmūd wanted to test the fidelity of his slave, or, we may say, he wished to protect him from the envy of the courtiers by raising him still higher, and giving him his freedom. But here the reader will see what fidelity can do with a heart of which it has once taken possession. The king gave to Malik Khāṣ much money and many soldiers, so that he might search for some lovely site, there to found a large and handsome city in his own name. He added a secret order that after the said city had been built he (Malik Khāṣ) should send a defiance to his master.

Malik Khāṣ obeyed, and came to a bare and spacious plain near to a fine river called the Rāvī. There he constructed the handsome and beneficent city of Lāhor, called by its residents 'Allah-nūr'—that is, 'Day-dawn of God.' When the city was completed, he sent a defiance to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, calling on him to enter the field and fight. It would be impossible to detail the exclamations and speeches of the courtiers to the king. They told him that now he beheld the loyalty of his slave; well had they recognised the pride of Malik Khāṣ. But the king had attached more value to the hypocrisy of a slave than to the loyalty of so many faithful followers, who, as members of high-placed families, were endowed with sensi-

tive souls, and full of all good qualities. Now the only remedy was to take the field and destroy this rebel, who repaid by revolt the love of a great king.

Sulṭān Maḥmūd ordered his army to take the field, and he marched against the pretended rebel. They were to fight together, and the officers of the Ghaznī king, eager to show their loyalty and valour, longed for nothing so much as the hour of battle. They hoped for reward from the court, coupled with the death and [142] overthrow of their hated rival. Battle was delivered, and Malik Khāṣ was able to dispose his soldiers so carefully that he succeeded in defeating the army and capturing the king, his master. He carried the king to the new city, and made him ascend a high throne, while he (Malik Khāṣ), with a rope round his neck and his hands bound, came and fell at Sulṭān Maḥmūd's feet, and exclaimed that the slave had obeyed his master. On his part, Sulṭān Maḥmūd took him to his arms and kissed him, and, removing the rope from his neck, caused him to sit at his side upon the same throne, and assigning him great revenues, confided to him the kingdom of Lāhor, and retired himself to the realm of Ghaznī.

This is the origin of the famous city of Lāhor, which has twelve gates, called: Qādirī Darwāzah, which is on the river bank towards the north; Yakkī[1] Darwāzah, on the same side; Dillī Darwāzah, which is used by those going to and coming from Dihlī; Akbarī Darwāzah; Mochī Darwāzah—that is, 'Gate of the Shoemaker'—and it got this name on the following occasion: Near this gate dwelt a shoemaker who had a lovely daughter, with whom a Paṭhān youth fell in love. To get possession of her, he had recourse to a procuress called Giho, who feigned to be a physician. She managed cleverly to smuggle the youth into the girl's room hidden in a box, on the pretext that it contained medicines to treat the girl. The girl was a consenting party, and on Giho's advice had shammed illness. Three days afterwards the girl found that the illness from

[1] Yakkī, a corruption of Zakī, the name of a saint and martyr who lost his life close by (Syed Mahomed Latif, 'History of Lahore,' p. 85; Lahore, 1892). Of the thirteen existing gates, eight bear the same names as in Manucci's time. The Qādirī, Multānī, and Ghakkarī Gates no longer bear those names. There are five new names—Raushanāi, Mastī, Khiẓrī, Lohārī, Takshālī Gates.

which she suffered was alleviated. The father remunerated the old woman, who came back to remove the box to her own house. Since there were not enough porters, the shoemaker lent a hand. As they went along the road they got mixed up with a string of ill-tempered camels, and there the box fell to the ground. Owing to this great fall it opened, and out came the Paṭhān youth, who set a-running. Seeing this, the shoemaker found out the knavery; and the story was told all over the city, whereby this gate acquired the name aforesaid. [The other gates are] Shāh 'Ālamī Darwāzah; Bhatī Darwāzah; Multānī Darwāzah, on the road leading to Multān; Morī Darwāzah; Ghakkarī Darwāzah, leading to the lands of the Ghakkars; Kashmīri Darwāzah, which opens on the road to Kashmīr.

The walls are all [143] of well-burnt bricks, high, and provided with bastions. The houses are lofty, some having eight stories. As to the number of people in this city, it is not easy to make an estimate, for the *koṭwāl* told me that he collected a weekly tax from six thousand houses of ill-fame; from this assertion careful people can arrive at the number there must be of public *filles de joie*, besides those who conceal themselves. The city is inhabited by great and rich merchants who deal with the whole of India, and it is the key to the kingdoms of Kābul, Balkh, Tartary, Kashmīr, Persia, Baloches, Multān, Bhakkar, and Taṭṭah. For it is crammed with foreigners, is well provided with provisions, and has a population of ruddy complexion inclining to whiteness. Round the city are fine gardens filled with various kinds of fruit, chiefly peaches, which are fine and large and in great abundance. Once, out of curiosity, I weighed one of them, and without exaggeration, it weighed thirteen ounces. There are many quinces (*marmelos*), figs, mulberries, stoneless grapes, mangoes, and melons of many kinds. The air is very good and wholesome, as may be seen by the complexions of the inhabitants, above all from the villagers, men and women, a very simple folk, well-built and friendly-natured. There is an abundance of wells, from which they draw water by thick ropes[1] with the aid of oxen.

[1] The text has *moras*, for which I read *amarros*, 'cables, hawsers.'

Islām Khan comes from Baṣrah.

Before I continue with the events that I encountered in the exercise of medicine, it is necessary to state what happened in the kingdom, so as to preserve the order of time, which I profess to follow as much as I can, that the reader may know the dates at which the matters noticed took place. In this year of one thousand six hundred and seventy-three came from Baṣrah an Arabian prince called Islām Khān[1] with six hundred Arabians, some of whom rode fine horses. The said prince had fled because the Grand Seignor had sent orders for his beheadal, I know not for what cause. When he arrived, he possessed considerable wealth in pearls, and he was received by Aurangzeb in a friendly way. Desirous of turning him into a defender of the kingdom, Aurangzeb wished to give the daughter of Murād Bakhsh to his son in marriage. But Islām Khān was not attracted by such an alliance. After this refusal Aurangzeb, who knew how to dissimulate [144], fixed high pay for him and his son, but at the same time planned treachery against him. He sent him to take part in the war against Bījāpur, and privately enjoined Bahādur Khān, under whom the prince was to serve, that during a battle he should be abandoned and left with none but his own small force. Thus did Sharzah Khān and his troops destroy him and his men. For never did Aurangzeb pardon anyone who had declined to do his will.

Marriage of the Princesses.

This was the year (? 1673) of marriages, for in it was married that same girl (Murād Bakhsh's daughter) to a Pīrzādah or holy man of Balkh, as to whom I shall speak further on (II. 60). In it, too, Aurangzeb married two of his own daughters—that

[1] Ḥusain Pāshā, *beglarbegī* of Baṣrah, fled to Īrān, and thence to India. On the 11th Ṣafar, twelfth year, 1080 H. (July 11, 1669), he reached Āgharābād, close to Dihlī. He was received in audience, given the title of Islām Khān, and made Governor of Mālwah; but in 1083 H. (1672-73) he had fallen out of favour. He was placed on duty in the Dakhin under Bahādur Khān (Khān Jahān Kokaltāsh), and was killed in battle there on the 11th Rabī' II., 1087 H. (June 24, 1676) (see 'M.-ul-U.,' i. 241-247; 'M.-i-'Ā.,' 85, 121; and 'Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī').

is to say, Zīnat-un-nissā Begam, and Badr-un-nissā Begam, as I said at the beginning (II. 41)—one to the son of Dārā, and the other to the son of Murād Ba<u>kh</u>sh; he also married the beautiful Jānī Begam to Sulṭān A'ẓam, to whom on that occasion was given the title of A'ẓam-tārā. She was not married to Sulṭān Akbar, as stated by Monsieur Bernier, who, from not being present, fell into error. Begam Ṣāḥib, or Pādshāh Begam, to the seed-pearls which issued from her eyes at thus losing her beloved niece, added lovely pearls and handsome jewels as a marriage present. After the marriage, Aurangzeb sent Prince A'ẓam Tārā as viceroy to Bengal.[1]

A curious case happened in Dihlī in the matter of marriages. For the daughter of 'Abd-ul-wahhāb,[2] on learning that the king was marrying off his daughters and nieces, also wanted to be married. However, her father had no such intention, for she looked after his house and had his wealth under her control. Nevertheless, she managed to get her father to give her in marriage without his knowing it. It was in this way: she got up a friendship with a youth in the neighbourhood, who came and went secretly without the father suspecting anything. Next she decided to leave the house one day in a covered palanquin, having first sent all the property to a place of security. Then

[1] Bernier, 126, only speaks of the marriage to Akbar as 'intended,' not as carried out. Jahān-zeb Bāno Begam (known as Jānī Begam), daughter of Dārā Shukoh, was married to Muḥammad A'ẓam, Aurangzeb's third son, on the 17th Ṣafar, eleventh year, 1079 H. (July 28, 1668), and the wedding-feast took place on the 17th Rajab (January 1, 1669). She died at Aḥmadābād (Gujarāt) in Shawwāl, 1116 H. (February, 1705). Muḥammad A'ẓam was sent first to Multān for two years (1675-77), and then to Bahār and Bengal. He arrived at Ḍhākah on the 17th Rabī' of the twenty-first year, 1089 H. (June 8, 1678). There is an anecdote of Jānī Begam's bravery in <u>Kh</u>āfī <u>Kh</u>ān, ii. 317. In 1095 H. (1684), during a fight outside Bījāpur, she used bow and arrow valiantly from the top of her elephant. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, son of <u>Kh</u>wājah Ṭāhir, Naqshbandī, married Asāish Bāno Begam, daughter of Murād Ba<u>kh</u>sh, on the 2nd Jamādā II. of the fifteenth year, 1083 H. (September 26, 1672). Ezad Ba<u>kh</u>sh, son of the same prince, married Mihr-un-nissā, Aurangzeb's daughter, in the fifteenth year, 1083 H. (December, 1672), and Sipihr Shukoh, son of Dārā, married Zubdat-un-nissā, another daughter, on the 21st Shawwāl of the sixteenth year, 1083 H. (February 10, 1673) ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 74, 120, 125, and 'Tārī<u>kh</u>-i-Muḥammadī,' year 1116). According to the histories, Badr-un-nissā never married; she died on 28th Zī Qa'dah, sixteenth year, 1083 H. (March 18, 1673).

[2] For 'Abd-ul-wahhāb, see I. 277, II. 3, and III. 52.

she went in the youth's company to the *qāẓī's* public audience. On arriving there, the youth said to 'Abd-ul-wahhāb that he and the woman in the palanquin had made a vow [145] to be married by him. The *qāẓī*, not recognising the woman to be his daughter, asked her if she consented to marriage with the youth. Disguising her voice, she answered 'Yes.' The *qāẓī* performed the ceremony and dismissed them.

The youth and his bride feared that the *qāẓī* by his influence might get the marriage annulled. The bridegroom therefore hastened at once to the captain of the guard, an acquaintance of his, and informing him of the facts, begged his friend to let him speak with the king and get His Majesty to act the godfather in the matter. Aurangzeb laughed over the story, and at once gave an order to bring the *qāẓī* to him, before he had gone home and found out that his daughter was not in the house; they were to tell him that what he had done was well done, but not a word was to be breathed about the marriage or anything else.

Rendered anxious by such a message, 'Abd-ul-wahhāb started for his house, and found that his daughter was not in her apartments. Searching, and again searching, he discovered a small opening made in the wall, and by this time he realized that the marriage he had just performed had been the marriage of his daughter. He was much cast down, but his sadness was doubled when, on opening his boxes, he found that all that he had gathered together by impostures had been carried off by his daughter with a liberal hand. From this contretemps, aggravated by heart complaint, he fell ill and died in great pain, a terrible death.[1]

Death of Roshan Ārā Begam.

If this year was a joyful one for these marriages, it was a sad one through what occurred in the apartments of Roshan Ārā Begam. She kept there nine youths in secret for her diversion. The discoverer of this noble conduct was Fakhr-un-nissā Begam,

[1] Qāẓī 'Abd-ul-wahhāb, a Bobrah from Gujarāt, died at Dihlī on the 18th Ramaẓān, 1086 H. (December 10, 1675) ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 148, and 'Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī,' year 1086; see also I. 277).

the daughter of Aurangzeb. This lady, although not desirous of marriage, had no intention of being deprived of her satisfaction. Therefore she asked her aunt to make over to her at least one out of the nine. Roshan Ārā Begam declined the request in spite of her niece's importunity. Moved by envy, the young girl revealed to her father what there was hidden in the apartments of Roshan Ārā Begam. By diligent search they caught the young men, who were well clothed and good-looking. They were made over to the criminal authorities, being announced to the world as thieves; and following the orders he had received, the *koṭwāl*, Sīdī Fulād, destroyed them in less than a month by various secret tortures [146]. Already angered at the misconduct of his sister, Aurangzeb shortened her life by poison. Thus, in spite of all she had done to get her brother made king, she experienced herself his cruelty, dying swollen out like a hogshead, and leaving behind her the name of great lasciviousness.[1]

THE KING OF KĀSHGHĀR.

There arrived in Hindūstān in this year a king of Tartary, who came in person to sue for help from the greatness of Aurangzeb. This was the King of Kāshghar,[2] a very old man with a few hairs of a beard, such as have the greater number of Chinese, a man of fair complexion. He had been obliged to flee from his country owing to the rebellion of his son, who had usurped his throne. At his reception Aurangzeb made a display of his grandeur, and sent out Ja'far Khān (of whom we

[1] Roshan Rāe Begam, daughter of Shāhjahān, died the 17th Jamādạ I., 1082 H. (September 21, 1671, N.S.), at Akbarābād, aged fifty-six ('Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī,' year 1082).

[2] In the tenth year, 1078 H. (1667-68), it was reported that 'Abdullah Khān, ruler of Kāshghar, had fled, and was about to enter Kashmīr. On the 8th Shawwāl of the eleventh year, 1078 H. (April 2, 1668), he arrived near Dihlī, and was received on the 11th. Jamdat-ul-Mulk Ja'far Khān, and Asad Khān, were sent out to meet him. He left for Arabia after eight months, and was escorted to Sūrat by Ḥakīm Ibrāhīm ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 63, 71, 83). The name of his rebellious son is variously spelt: Būlbaras Khān ('M.-i-'Ā.,' 63), Balbāras (index), Būbāras (p. 79), Bulbāras (p. 433). This son died in 1112 H. (1700-1).

have spoken) along with other noble persons of the court, and a number of cavalry to meet and escort him. They attended him into the city, and conducted him to the mansion of Rustam Khān, Dakhinī. The court was much troubled about the form of receiving this king. For Aurangzeb did not wish to break Akbar's rule of not allowing a seat in his presence to anyone but his sons. On the other hand, the world would find an opening for accusing Aurangzeb of overweening pride if he gave no seat in his presence to this king. For although evil fortune had forced him to quit his territories, he did not thereby cease to be of a royal line, into which in other times the Mogul kings had married their sons and their daughters.

Aurangzeb, who in certain matters was unwilling that the world should feel aggrieved at his acts, was very much perplexed about the way he ought to receive the fugitive king. Finally he came to the conclusion to receive him in the mosque, where, all being seated, it would be no dishonour for the king to have the King of Kāshghar seated in his presence. It is the custom of Mahomedans on ending their prayers to turn the head to the right and to the left, saying twice, 'As-salām 'alaikum,' saluting as it were the angels, and giving them thanks for the support given to their prayers.[1] For they assert that everyone [147] has two angels at his side, and thus they make the salutation twice. This was another piece of finesse on Aurangzeb's part, who made the salute to the angels serve as a polite salutation to the guest; for, turning to say the 'As-salām 'alaikum,' he became aware that the King of Kāshghar was present in the mosque a little behind him. The other responded with the same words, when Aurangzeb turned entirely round to him; the King of Kāshghar did the same, and thus the conversation began. In this manner the interview came off without prejudice to either of them. On finishing their talk, each retired to his own palace, nor did these two kings ever meet save in the mosque. The reason assigned was that in God's house there is neither high nor low, and thus

[1] This is the *salām* (see T. P. Hughes, 'Dictionary of Islam,' 468). As to the two recording angels, see the same work, p. 15.

they could pay and receive visits there without any derogation of their dignity.[1]

A curious thing happened to Aurangzeb. Going through the street which goes straight from the mosque to the fort, he passed close to a shop where a *faqīr* was seated who had formerly been a disciple of the same teacher, Mullā Ṣāliḥ. On seeing the king pass, the *faqīr* discharged at him a potful of human excrement, which defiled his throne and his body. At the same time the *faqīr* uttered a cry. Let not the reader be amazed at such boldness, for it is quite impossible to set forth completely the irreverence of these *faqīrs*, of whom I have already spoken in my First Part (I. 93). They act thus in full confidence that no one will dare to ill-treat them; above all, Aurangzeb could not do so, professing himself to be a *faqīr*. The king sat quite still, only ordering them to arrest the *faqīr*, and afterwards he sent for the man to his presence. The king asked him why he had so affronted him, and the *faqīr* replied that he did it because he, being now a king, had forgotten his co-disciples, and himself fared most sumptuously, while those poor wretches suffered in poverty. Aurangzeb answered that there was no room for him to complain, it being God's decree that one should be exalted and another left in want; and the very same God, if he chose, could reverse the positions. Thus the *faqīr* was sent about his business and received nothing.

Aurangzeb made no stint of politenesses and concessions to the King of Kāshghar during his stay in Dihlī, and as a spectacle sent six [148] elephants to fight before him. This was something new for this king, who had never seen elephants nor their combats. In order that he might see this sport, he was brought to the same palace [as Aurangzeb], but not to the same seat; on the contrary, he was placed at a great distance from it. On learning that he wished to proceed to Mecca, Aurangzeb sent him some handsome horses, which were killed by this barbarous

[1] The 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 72, does not bear this mosque story out completely. But the interview began on the bank of the river at nightfall instead of in the andience hall, and the two monarchs went thence hand in hand to the mosque for prayers. Thus, the interview was carried out in a very unusual manner, though, perhaps, not exactly as Manucci states.

king and eaten during his journey from Dihlī to Sūrat. This act offended Aurangzeb to some extent.

The King of Kāshghar reached Sūrat, where the governor received him with great honour, in compliance with orders from court. He was provided with a ship, and then started for Mecca. On the voyage a curious thing occurred, by which the King of Kāshghar was offended. It happened that a European let wind, whereupon the king complained to the captain, who was also a European, that his pilgrimage had been interfered with. This sufficed to make all the crew, whenever they felt troubled in the same way, to pass close to the king's cabin to give him a salute. Owing to this trouble, when he returned to Dilhī, he lodged a complaint, but no one would listen to his grievance; everyone treated the matter as foolishness, and he lived on in Dilhī for some time and died there.[1]

A Paṭhān rises in Rebellion.

This was the year in which Shāh Shujā' was resuscitated, which caused great anxiety to Aurangzeb and threw the kingdom into confusion. Many persons believed that the fictitious Shāh Shujā' was the veritable prince and a true pretender to the throne. But really he was not such, but only the secretary of a general, who, moving to the farther side of the Indus river, began to announce that he was Shāh Shujā', who had fled from Arakān. He was so clever at depicting the events of his campaign against Aurangzeb that there soon collected many men who had come to help him. To everyone who declared himself on his side he gave a rupee, promising him high pay. Already he had gathered together some thirty thousand soldiers. These crossed the Indus on inflated skins, and Aurangzeb ordered his *faujdārs*, who are field commanders, forthwith to occupy the river bank and stop their crossing. The officials hastened to the spot, and I have heard it said that a

[1] 'Abdullah Khān, Changezī, of Chaghatāe race, returned from the Ḥajāz in the fourteenth year, 1082 H. (1671), and died at Dihlī on the 10th Sha'bān of the eighteenth year, 1086 H. (October 30, 1675) ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 112, 113, 143, and 'Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī,' 1086).

dog belonging to a general did such wondrous things against these rebels [149], and so many died, that they were forced to retreat.

But this did not cause the fictitious Shāh Shujā' to lose heart. He continued his enlistment of men on the promise that when he became king he would give high pay, and would reward the valiant. By these promises more and more men assembled, until Aurangzeb wrote to Farīdun Beg, governor of Ḥasan Abdāl, stating his surprise, as it would not require much exertion to sweep away this rising. The governor sent some fictitious Paṭhāns to give poison to the real Paṭhān, but false Shāh Shujā'. Thus was this revolt put an end to, which had started from this side of the river. There can be no doubt that many were not well contented with Aurangzeb, chiefly the Paṭhāns, who must be some three hundred thousand in number.[1]

Death of Sulṭān Muḥammad.

I have already stated earlier that Aurangzeb suspected his son, Sulṭān Muḥammad, knowing him to be a brave soldier, and therefore he had him carried off a prisoner to the fortress of Gwāliyār. But in the end it oppressed him to see his son for such a long time in prison. He was also in want of his services for several undertakings he was bent upon—that is to say, the destruction of Shivā Jī, the conquest of Bījāpur and Gulkandah, and a campaign against the Rānā. He therefore sent for him from Gwāliyār, and placed him in the fortress of Salīmgaṛh. Some liberty was accorded to him, and his father took him to the mosque with him. Still he placed no trust in him, his object being to test him more and more in order to see if prison had weakened him.

One day he sent him in sign of love a melon, of which he (Aurangzeb) had eaten a portion. He wanted to see if Sulṭān

[1] This rising of Paṭhāns, in which Shujā'at Khān was killed, took place in the seventeenth year, 1084 H. (1673-74). Ra'd-andāz Khān, entitled Shujā'at Khān, son of Bahā-ud-dīn, entitled Barq-andāz Khān, Sīstānī, Qandahārī, was killed on the 18th Zu,l Qa'dah, 1084 H. (February 24, 1674), in a fight with the Afghāns of Kābul ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 131, and 'Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi,' 1084).

Muḥammad retained his qualities of a son. They presented the melon to him, saying that the king, his father, had already tasted thereof and sent him the remainder. He asked for a knife. The eunuch who had brought the melon, putting his finger on the slice cut by Aurangzeb, said that it was already cut; there was no need of a knife to cut it. Sulṭān Muḥammad replied that he would not eat what he had not cut himself. The eunuch retorted that knives were not given to prisoners. This was enough, and Sulṭān Muḥammad [150], flying into a passion, laid hold of the melon and flung it with all his might at the eunuch's head. The man returned to Aurangzeb, and gave an account of his reception. Thereupon the king bit his lips, and, holding his head down, said: 'What a terrible madness must that be which, after the medicine of so many years in prison and of opium drinking, has not been cured!' He ordered his son to be guarded with great care, and in secret caused poison to be administered, to remove from his sight a son who had done service to him in the fighting against Dārā, and who was so obedient to his father's orders that he seized his own grandfather, as may be seen in the First Part of my history.

The day on which the poison was to be given to the prince Aurangzeb went out hunting, and in the evening the death of his son was reported to him. He pulled up his horse and pretended to cry; then he offered up a prayer for the repose of his son's soul, and ordered his interment at the mausoleum of Humāyūn. The next day he went with his court to the mausoleum to pray, as is usual. Seeing a white bier cloth upon a tomb, he asked who was buried there. On hearing that it was Dārā's grave he ordered the cloth to be taken away, and imposed the penalty of death on anyone who should pray there; his object was to wipe out the remembrance of Dārā. Thus ended the name of Sulṭān Muḥammad in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-one.[1]

[1] According to the 'Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī,' 1087 H. (1676), and to the 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' p. 159, 1088 H. (1677), is the correct year. The former authority states that he died on the 18th Shawwāl, 1087 H. (December 25, 1676), aged thirty-eight years one month and four days.

WHAT I ENCOUNTERED FROM MUḤAMMAD AMĪN KHĀN.

This was the year in which Muḥammad Amīn Khān gave me a lot of annoyance, for, having been ordered by the king to Kābul[1] as governor in place of Mahābat Khān, he wanted to take me with him by force. He made me many promises, but I knew my man too well. He had promised me ten rupees a day for healing a putrid venereal disease, of recovery from which he had despaired; afterwards, ignoring what he had said, he refused to pay me the promised sum. I therefore made my excuses, saying I did not wish to leave Lāhor.

He left with his retinue, and finding that neither by promises nor by threats could I be made to follow him [151], he ordered me to be carried off by force. Thus I travelled with him for three days as far as Little Gujarāt,[2] crossing the river of Lāhor and the river Chināb. He acted thus not only from his desire to keep me, but also because his wife so willed it. She went the length of unveiling before me her daughter's face (a most unusual thing among them), and said to me that, if I would not go for her sake, at the least I might for her daughter's, whom I had brought back to health when she was very ill. I had come thus far, but never forsook the project I intended to carry out; for he who serves by compulsion can never be satisfied. Thus, the marches being at night on account of the heat, I turned back, without saying a word to anyone except an Englishman, whom I told I was going to the town of Little Gujarāt to buy some medicines, and if Muḥammad Amīn Khān should ask him about me, he was to give that answer.

That nobleman had given an order that no one was to be allowed to cross to the other side of the river, permitting nothing to remain on our side except the ferry-boat for conveying the couriers to and from the court; but I so took my measures that this boat was forced to carry me across, for as I approached I sent my servants to take possession of the boat

[1] Muḥammad Amīn Khān was appointed to Kābul in the thirteenth year, 1080 81 H. (1670-71) ('Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' iii. 616, and 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 104).

[2] Gujarāt, in the Panjab, eight miles from the banks of the Chināb. Near here was fought Sir Hugh Gough's battle of February 21, 1849.

and keep it till I arrived. I came up and ordered the boatman to convey me across, pretending I was a courier from Mahābat Khān to the court. As soon as I had passed the river it began to be dawn, and I met a body of Muḥammad Amīn Khān's people. When they asked me where I was going, I answered angrily that Mirzā 'Abdullah[1] being unwell, the prince had sent me to treat him. Thus I got past them. I reached Lāhor by fast travelling before he could overtake me on the way.

But Muḥammad Amīn Khān planned a piece of treachery for my destruction. This consisted in writing to Gitar, commander of the fort and provisional governor, to his own agent (? *wakīl*), to the *koṭwāl*, and to the *qāẓī*, requiring them to forward me to his camp. If I refused, they were to charge me with having stolen from him five lakhs of rupees. They knew quite well it was a false accusation, but Muḥammad Amīn Khān being a great man, they did not hesitate to do everything possible to have me seized. But I was not asleep, and I was tolerably versed in Mahomedan tricks, for they stick at nothing to gain success in their desires [152]. Therefore I did not stay inside Lāhor at my house, but hid myself in the gardens, moving about from one place to another in disguise. This went on for forty days, and proclamation was made that anyone knowing where I was hid and discovering me, would be highly rewarded, and whoever concealed me in his house would be compelled to pay the five lakhs of rupees robbed by me from Muḥammad Amīn Khān.

At this time Fidā,e Khān, who was to succeed Muḥammad Amīn Khān as governor,[2] was approaching. He was his predecessor's enemy. In advance of his own arrival he sent two hundred cavalry, conveying letters to the provisional governor, the *koṭwāl*, and the *qāẓī*, telling them to carry on the government in his name until he should arrive. At each court of justice was posted one of Fidā,e Khān's troopers to act as witness and verify everything that took place. When I knew of this, I came boldly into Lāhor, and had an interview with the trooper who attended

[1] Mirzā 'Abdullah, the son of Muḥammad Amīn Khān. He was killed on the Peshāwar frontier, 3rd Muḥarram, 1083 (April 30, 1672).

[2] Fidā,e Khān was appointed to Lāhor in the thirteenth year, 1080-81 H. (January 23, 1670, to January 11, 1671) ('Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' i. 250).

the *koṭwāl's* court, also with the man posted at the deputy-governor's, telling them my story. Both men pledged me their word that they would help me, but I told them not to take action until they saw me being taken away by force to Muḥammad Amīn Khān. Secure of their aid if anything happened to me, I returned to my house. The *koṭwāl* and the other officials were in fear of Muḥammad Amīn Khān, so the *koṭwāl* sent for me and locked me up in prison, and three times, on three different days, he asked me in public audience whether I would go willingly to Muḥammad Amīn Khān or not. On my saying resolutely that I would not go, he said that as Muḥammad Amīn Khān had accounts to go into with me, I must be forced to go. My reply was that I had no sort of account with him, nor knew I aught about his jewels, for I was no official of his household, but only a Frank surgeon, to whom jewels would not be made over. Seeing me thus firm, he too spoke resolutely, at the instigation of Muḥammad Amīn Khān's *wakīl*, declaring that I must absolutely go.

They had already removed me from the audience, and were making me mount into a carriage prepared for that purpose, when the trooper, whom I had already made my friend, announced openly that if they wished to send me, they might; but hereafter Fidā,e Khān would have something to say to them, he having given special instructions for Ḥakīm Niccolao, the Frank, to be looked after, he being his (Fidā,e Khān's) private doctor. He called on everyone to bear witness how he had made requisition on his master's behalf. Upon hearing [153] this, the *koṭwāl* got into a fright and sent for me once more, and said to me in a loud voice that the trooper had made a requisition on behalf of Fidā,e Khān; but the law demanded that at the very least I should produce bail for my person, so as to be able afterwards to justify itself against a claim by Muḥammad Amīn Khān.

Sureties were not wanting who, knowing the truth, were willing to bind themselves for me. But neither the *koṭwāl* nor the *wakīl* would accept them as bail, warning them that in this way they would have to defend themselves from Muḥammad Amīn Khān, a violent and powerful man. Thus it came to pass

that all of them were afraid to do what they wished, until at last a Hindū turned up, who, in defiance of Muḥammad Amīn Khān, became surety, I giving him an indemnity, and thus I was free.

Meanwhile Mirzā Ṣāliḥ,[1] the son of Fidā,e Khān, arrived. I visited him and paid my respects, having beforehand had some good words said to him about me; for I was tolerably well known in Lāhor. In this way, when Fidā,e Khān himself subsequently arrived, he (Mirzā Ṣāliḥ) presented me to his father, by whom I was well received. I presented to him a box full of an electuary.[2] He sent for the *koṭwāl,* and told him to take good care that no one interfered with me, and he also gave me his word to be favourable to me. This, of a truth, he was as long as he lived, and that, too, in things of great importance, as I shall relate in the proper place (II. 162).

MUḤAMMAD AMĪN KHĀN DEFEATED BY THE PAṬHĀNS.

But let us proceed and see what happened to Muḥammad Amīn Khān with the Paṭhāns. It looks as if God had inspired me with this resolve not to go with him in order to save my life. When he reached the territories of Kābul, puffed up with pride as he was, he tried to interfere with the Paṭhāns, and was not content to do as other viceroys had done. They had managed to keep friends with these most warlike folk. But he, as soon as he arrived, sent word to the Paṭhāns that he required them to pay tribute; otherwise he would make war, and oblige them to do by force what they declined to do from affection.

This was enough to give the Paṭhāns an opportunity of destroying him. Taking no notice [154] of the affront, they allowed Muḥammad Amīn Khān with forty thousand horse, in addition to infantry numbering two hundred thousand and his baggage, to enter into the mountains near Pexor (Peshāwar).

[1] Fidā,e Khān, afterwards A'ẓam Khān, Kokah, died on the 9th Rabī' II., 1089 H. (May 31, 1678). He was the elder brother of Bahādur Khān, afterwards Khān Jahān, Kokaltāsh. Fidā,e Khān's eldest son was Ṣāliḥ Khān, afterwards Fidā,e Khān ('Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' i. 247, 251).

[2] The text has *detvarīo*, which Mr. D. Ferguson emends to *eletvario* = electuario = 'electuary,' and this I adopt.

When the imperialists had advanced into the hills, the Paṭhāns blocked the routes. One morning, while it was still dark, all the Paṭhāns came, marching on foot, and having manned the tops of the surrounding hills, they began to shout as with one voice, so frightening the men of Muḥammad Amīn Khān that they were like a *pinha* (a pine-tree—*i.e.*, they trembled ?). Then the hillmen descended on the Moguls with a great rush, their bare swords in their hands.

Muḥammad Amīn Khān issued forth, and finding himself in the last extremity, he sent an embassy to the Paṭhāns through a holy man of Balkh. He said he would pay them a great deal of money and comply with their wishes. But the enraged Paṭhāns would not hear a word, and, cutting off the holy man's head, fell upon Muḥammad Amīn Khān's soldiers, sparing not a single one. Muḥammad Amīn Khān had recourse to a device to save his own life. That is to say, he ordered his secretary, Muḥammad Riẓā, to take the seat on his elephant, and thus he was destroyed, the Paṭhāns supposing that it was Muḥammad Amīn Khān himself. They contented themselves with cutting off this man's head and carrying it into the mountains. Muḥammad Amīn Khān, with the aid of some Paṭhāns in his service, clothed himself in their manner, and these men conducted him until he had got out of the hills and arrived at Peshāwar. When they reached the city it was night, and the commandant would not open the gate, fearing some treachery. Nevertheless, through the urgent petitions forwarded to him by Muḥammad Amīn Khān, the commandant sent men to examine well by torch-light the marks on his face, so as to see if it were really Muḥammad Amīn Khān. He had to suffer this affront in order to save his life. But how did the Pathāns deal with the wealth and the family of Muḥammad Amīn Khān ?

All were made prisoners, except Mirzā 'Abdullah,[1] son of Muḥammad Amīn Khān, who on seeing the enemy make a prisoner of his father's wife, the one who showed me her daughter's face thereby to overcome me, cut off her head himself. After this

[1] Saiyid Sulṭān, Karbalāe, and Mirzā 'Abdullah, were killed in the Khaibar Pass in a fight with the Afghāns on the 7th Muḥarram, 1083 H. (May 6, 1672) ('Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī,' 1083; see also 'Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' iii. 617).

the Paṭhāns killed him ('Abdullah) along with Mirzā Sulṭān, brother-in-law of Muḥammad Amīn Khān, a well-made man of grave demeanour, a Persian by birth. They took prisoners the mother, the sister, and the daughter of the fugitive. The last-named lady had already been named to Sulṭān Akbar, the fourth son of Aurangzeb, but after this the marriage was not carried out [155]. It was thought an indignity for a prince of the blood royal to marry one who had been taken and put to ransom by so barbarous a people as are the Paṭhāns of those mountains. So barbarous were they, that they were not aware of the wealth they had acquired by the overthrow of their enemies, and gave the gold coins away for nothing, taking them to be of base metal. It was on this occasion that a jewel-box was lost containing all the most lovely jewels and the largest diamonds belonging to the widow of Mīr Jumlah. She had refused to give them to Aurangzeb, who had asked for them, assigning as her reason that, being an old woman, the said jewels would serve her as torches to lighten her old age. Some say that when Mahābat Khān was sent back afterwards to govern Kābul a second time, he found means of recovering these valuables, but it is not known for certain.

When the king sent Mahābat Khān to Kābul again as governor, Netū Jī, officer of Shivā Jī, succeeded in escaping; but the attempt did not end as he wished, for he was caught at once, and they brought him to Lāhor, where they put him into a cage until the arrival of the royal orders. These orders were that if he did not consent to become a Mahomedan his head was to be cut off. He pretended to change his religion and recovered once more his rank, but was ordered to go across the river Indus. After some months had elapsed he disappeared and made for the country of Shivā Jī, and fought anew against the Moguls in the accustomed way.

Those who escaped death were afterwards ransomed; Muḥammad Amīn, unlocking his treasure-house at Peshāwar, ransomed his mother, who had been wounded in the side, his sister, and his daughter. If anyone wants to know if Muḥammad Amīn Khān was rich, he can conceive an answer from what was said to him by his secretary—that is to say, that without drawing

pay or income from the king, he could of himself, with the rank he had, maintain twelve thousand horsemen for eighty years.

Mahābat Khān returns to Kābul.

Upon the receipt of the above news at court, Aurangzeb ordered Mahābat Khān to go once more in all haste to take charge of Kābul;[1] nor would he accede to the petition of Muḥammad Amīn Khān, who offered, if not superseded, to undertake himself the charges of the war against the Paṭhāns, and wreak vengeance for the previous affront. When [156] Mahābat Khān came the Paṭhāns allowed him to pass, for he was a prudent man, who kept up a friendship with them. Thus Muḥammad Amīn Khān, on his way to his government of Gujarāt, passed through Lāhor, and he then confessed before everyone that truth was on my side. Thus did he restore to me the honour of which he had robbed me by a false accusation.

He went on to his government in Gujarāt. After he had arrived there, on the day that he had to attend at the mosque, he gave an order to the door-keepers not to allow the common people to enter during the time of his prayers. For this reason, when he came out of the mosque the people rose against him with shouts, and stones, and shoes, so that he was obliged to hide in a neighbouring house. He wrote about this insult to the king, hoping that he would send him troops, or would give him an order to chastise the people. But Aurangzeb replied that it was God's punishment for his hauteur; he was astonished at his promptness in complaining, whereas it would be better to amend his own ways, and not be so high and mighty. From vexation he ended his life in a little time.[2]

[1] Mahābat Khān was recalled from the Dakhin, and sent to Kābul in the sixteenth year (December, 1672, to December, 1673) ('Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' iii. 593). In refusing Muḥammad Amīn Khān's offer, Aurangzeb acted on the advice of Amīr Khān, who said he would act like a wounded boar and attack regardless of all consequences (*ibid.*, iii. 619). Amīr Khān had served under Muḥammad Amīn Khān in Kābul (*ibid.*, i. 278).

[2] Muḥammad Amīn Khān died at Aḥmadābād on the 8th Jamādī II., 1093 H. (June 4, 1683) ('M.-ul-U.,' iii. 619).

Aurangzeb makes Peace with Shivā Jī.

Although Aurangzeb was anxious to obtain satisfaction from the Paṭhāns for this outbreak, he found he could not punish them, being involved in war with Shivā Jī and Bījāpur. He therefore sent Fidā,e Khān to Peshāwar to try and smooth things over; but, discovering that he (Fidā,e Khān) was not of that opinion, he sent his artillery general, Ra'dandāz Khān, a valiant man, with a large army to overawe them. But when he got among the mountains the Paṭhāns cut off his head and destroyed his army as they had done to that of Muḥammad Amīn Khān.[1] This was the opening of a new war. Since the Paṭhāns were strong, there was no army sufficient to reduce the fury of these men, who once claimed the crown of Hindūstān and the lordship over Dihlī. Ever since they lost King Sher Shāh they had refused to bind on turbans, wearing in their place a fragment of cloth. This custom is, they say, to endure until there is a Paṭhān king. Thus was Aurangzeb obliged to obtain peace from Shivā Jī, who was content to give him the time he wanted to fight the Paṭhāns. Aurangzeb took the field against them with a firm determination to extirpate them, believing it would be easy [157] to accomplish this purpose, just as he had succeeded in his previous undertakings. Thus he withdrew considerable forces from that quarter (the Dakhin), leaving Bahādur Khān to continue the war with Bījāpūr.

Shivā Jī enters the Karnātik to make War.

Shivā Jī had no idea of allowing his soldiers' swords to rust. He therefore asked the King of Gulkandah to grant him a passage on his way to a campaign in the Karnātik[2] against certain princes who had risen against Bījāpūr and Gulkandah. The King of Gulkandah having consented to his passing through, he came to the Karnātik, and there, by his valour and determination, he

[1] Ra'dandāz Khān (Shujā'at Khān) was dispatched on the 7th Sha'bān, sixteenth year, 1084 H. (November 17, 1673). He was killed on the 18th Ẕu,l Qa'dah, 1084 H. (February 24, 1674) ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 129, 131).

[2] Grant-Duff, 123. Shivā Jī was at Gulkandah early in 1677; at Jinjī in May of that year; the investment and capture of Vellūr followed. Three other forts were taken.

took a great fortress called Gingi (Jinjī).[1] It includes seven fortifications upon hills. There are many princes in the Karnātik, but they would not agree to a joint defence; then he, like a dexterous falcon, pounced upon them, and took many other fortresses of great value, and lands containing many subjects of the Bījāpūr kingdom. By these victories he increased his strength, and subsequently was able to resist the armies of Aurangzeb. But in the course of these victories he met with one cause of vexation, for his son, Sambagi (Sambhā Jī), was a man of unruly habits, who seized other men's wives. This gave rise to complaints from the officers and others; and their dissatisfaction was likely to be the cause of great injury to Shivā Jī, if thereby any revolt were occasioned. Finding that Sambhā Jī would not listen to his words, his father decided to have him seized and sent as a prisoner to some fortress. He intended then to leave the crown to his younger son, called Rām Rājā, in these days known under the designation of Shivā Jī. But Sambhā Jī became aware of his father's intentions, and knowing that the king (? Aurangzeb) would be delighted to have him within his territories, he made an appeal to him, and was received most amicably.[2]

Aurangzeb marches against the Paṭhāns.

Aurangzeb took the field against the Paṭhāns, riding his horse in the sun, with lance in hand, and taking no shelter from heat or dust. He did this to prove his determination to destroy them. He refused to listen to the petitions of his officers. They had practical knowledge of the fierceness and persistence of the Paṭhāns [158], and of the strength of the positions which they held. They advised him to deal otherwise with these people. But he was of opinion that when he was present in person everything was easy, forgetting what had happened to the great Akbar, who lost against them eighty thousand horsemen. He would listen to no one, but continued

[1] Jinjī, lat. 12° 16′, long. 79° 27′, eighty-two miles south-west of Madras.

[2] Grant-Duff, 129, has this under the year 1679, but he says Sambhā Jī was actually a prisoner of his father at Panalla, and then escaped to the Moguls under Diler Khān.

his onward march. On arriving at Lāhor, he directed that the harem should proceed no farther, taking with him thence only a few women. Thus the rest remained in Lāhor awaiting the king's return, or his permission to advance. The king marched on and took up position with his army at Ḥasan Abdāl,[1] near the river Indus.

This campaign lasted twenty-six months without the king gaining the least advantage over the Paṭhāns. On the contrary, he lost some of his most valuable soldiers. Thus the son of Shekh Mīr, a man of valour, was taken by the Paṭhāns, and the king had to ransom him.[2] Finding himself unable to overcome the Paṭhāns, and that he would lose thereby much of his honour and reputation, Aurangzeb had recourse to other measures. As he suspected that Mahābat Khān was encouraging the Paṭhān resistance, he sent an order for his removal.

Offended at this supersession, Mahābat Khān proposed, with the help of the Paṭhāns, to rise in revolt and declare himself King of Kābul. But he was counselled to the contrary by true friends, who reminded him of the loyal conduct of the great Mahābat Khān, his father, who had refrained from killing Jahāngīr when he could have done it if so minded. Mahābat Khān came in anger to the king's camp, the Paṭhāns allowing him to pass without hurt. On arrival in the royal presence, Aurangzeb ordered him to proceed to Hindūstān; but on the way he had him poisoned. There were two reasons: one was because Mahābat Khān's enemies said to the king that as he was friendly with the Rājputs he might, on reaching Hindūstān, try to revolt; the other reason was that, on this occasion, when issuing from the royal presence, being in an angry mood, he ordered his kettledrums to beat in the midst of the royal encampment. This was a great affront to the king; it was

[1] Ḥasan Abdāl, in the Rāwal Pindi district, lat. 33° 48′, long. 72° 45′, in a valley watered by springs. Aurangzeb started for this place on the 11th Muḥarram, 1085 H. (April 16, 1674), and his camp reached it on the 2nd Rabī' II. (June 6, 1674) ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 132, 133).

[2] Other authorities say that this man, the third son, Muḥammad Ya'qūb, Shamsher Khān, lost his life ('M.-ul-U.,' ii. 670). It was in Rabī' I., 1086 H. (May or June, 1675).

as much as to say that he did not care in the least for his life, and was no longer a subject of Aurangzeb.

He (Aurangzeb) ordered, as I have said, that poison should be given to him secretly; and since he was on his way to Lāhor, they told the king there was in that city a Frank physician who might cure him. For this reason there came to me a letter without any name, which stated that in no way must I afford aid to Mahābat Khān. He who brought me the letter, a man unknown to me, took me by the hand, and pressing it, said I must pay great heed to the letter and not act to the contrary, and then off he went.

Mahābat Khān calls Me in.

Knowing that Mahābat Khān was on his way, and being on very friendly terms, I sent out to him a present of some good spirits that I had prepared myself. His doctor, who had the order to give him the poison, seized the opportunity for my ruin and his own preservation. On the day that the Nawāb drank my wine, he gave him the poison in an elixir such as the Mahomedans are accustomed to take to reinforce their sexual powers. Mahābat Khān found himself troubled with sharp pains, and suspected that there must be poison in my spirits, and that I had acted thus at the instigation of Fidā,e Khān, his enemy. He sent to fetch me in the greatest haste, just as I was ready to go out for a stroll. At once I suspected something. I jumped on my horse and went off to him, he being eighteen leagues away.

Entering the tent, I found everyone in astonishment, for they had the idea that I would never come, being, as they asserted, the culprit. He ordered a tent to be prepared for me and a good supper, sending to entertain me several of his nephews, great friends of mine; also a captain called Mīrak 'Aṭā-ullah. This man was to spy upon me, and see if I spoke with any sign of fear or surprise. But as I was quite innocent, I spoke in my usual manner. Next morning I went to see Mahābat Khān again, and I asked him if he had tasted the spirits that I had sent, and he said he had. Thereupon I prayed the favour

of his giving me a drink of it. They brought me the bottle from which he had drunk. I drank, and after I had done so I gave some to his nephews, who praised the liquor. I did this to let him be satisfied that it was not my liquor that had made him bad, but some other thing. I remained with him in talk a long time, and he observed that the spirits did neither me nor his nephews any harm. He then invited me to treat him.

I made excuse, saying that he was provided with his own doctor, a very wise man, and that I was not acquainted with that disease. Thus I remained with him nineteen days, and he detained me to find out if the spirits we drank did any harm [160] either to me or to his nephews. He was obliged to let me go without being able to find out from me whether he had poison in his inside or not. At my departure he conferred on me a set of robes, and sent the same captain with twenty horsemen to escort me, so that his men, who thought me the cause of his illness, should not harm me. He died a few days afterwards of fetid discharges, a sign that his bowels were ulcerated.[1]

I ATTEND THE DAUGHTER OF MURĀD BAKHSH.

Hardly had I reached Lāhor when a terrible affair happened. This was that the holy man of Balkh,[2] to whom Aurangzeb had married the daughter of Murād Bakhsh, went mad. I was treating him as such. But Fidā,e Khān,[3] being away at Peshāwar, Amānat Khān[4] was in his place. He listened to the

[1] Lahrāsp, entitled (1) Lahrāsp Khān, then (2) Mahābat Khān, son of Zamānah Beg, Mahābat Khān, Khān Khānān, Sipāh Sālār, died the 4th Shawwāl, 1085 H. (January 1, 1675), near Sahodrah (Panjāb), aged sixty-four (lunar) years. His father died 1044 H. ('Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī,' 1085).

[2] See back, II. 149, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, son of Muḥammad Ṭāhir, Naqshbandī.

[3] Fidā,e Khān started from Lāhor for Peshāwar on the last of Muḥarram, fifteenth year, 1083 H. (May 28, 1672).

[4] Amānat Khān (*alias* Saiyid Aḥmad Khān) was in the thirteenth year, 1081 H., *dīwān* of Bengal; in the sixteenth year, 1083 H., *dīwān* of the *Khāliṣah*; in the eighteenth year, 1086 H., he resigned that office, and was put in charge of Lāhor; in the nineteenth year, 1086 H., he came out to greet Aurangzeb on his return from Ḥasan Abdāl ('M.-i-'Ā.,' 105, 126, 143, 148). See also Part I., f. 103, and V., f. 26.

proposals of the sorcerers, who said that the holy man was possessed by a demon, and not mad. I was obliged to abandon the treatment, Amānat Khān being aggrieved that I had taken on myself to treat a royal connection without first of all consulting him. My answer was that, being by profession a medical man, I went to the house of anyone who sent for me without making any distinctions. But since he did not approve of my continuing my treatment, I would that very hour quit the house and the patient.

It happened that a few days afterwards, the sorcerers assuring him that the man was now sane, and had no longer a demon in his inside, they allowed him to go for a walk in a garden along with the princess and her ladies. Having a dagger in his waist-belt, he drew it, and, seizing the princess, stabbed her beneath the ribs towards the side. When the ladies and the eunuchs, on hearing her cries, ran to the spot, he killed one woman with the same dagger and wounded another in the arm. After this he jumped into the reservoir, playing (*bailando*) with the dagger and other obscenities. Then they carried away the princess in a palanquin as speedily as possible to the palace, and a eunuch came careering on horseback to my house. I was urged to make all haste; I knew not why or wherefore. I sent an order to harness my carriage for us both to go together. But I could not extract from his mouth where it was necessary to go, until at last he told me to carry with me remedies for the [161] treatment of a wound that the holy man had inflicted on the princess. I protested that I could not go without permission from the governor, because the princess was of royal blood, nor could I treat her without the king's orders. He paid no heed to those words, and most urgently intreated me not to delay, for the princess was in danger of death. He then told me the whole story.

We started in the carriage, and he made out I was drunk, ordering the carriage to be driven with all speed, stopping for neither hucksters' stalls nor people. Everybody was amazed to see a Frank, who usually went by rather quietly, rush past so desperately. We reached the palace, and on being told the

facts as to the wound, I feared a lesion of the bowels. However, continuing my inquiries, I found that the wounds were not mortal. I did my utmost to get an examination before I began the treatment. But the Mahomedans are very touchy in the matter of allowing their women to be seen, or even touched by the hand; above all, the lady being of the blood royal, it could not be done without express permission from the king. Thus an examination was impossible. But I ordered them to describe the wound, and I had the dagger brought, and I saw that it was only by God's grace that it had not cut the bowels. I made my tents and plasters, mixing in them a balsam which I made, and since the persons in the service of these great people are intelligent, I instructed them as to what they had to do. By God's help the treatment succeeded, and in eleven days I healed her completely.

When for the first time I had applied the medicine, I went to the governor and reported the facts. This was to prevent his expressing surprise afterwards on hearing such news, and becoming frightened that the king would remark on the want of care with which he had guarded a man who had been declared mad. He entreated me earnestly to make my best efforts to cure the princess. Meanwhile he wrote to the king about the case, and told him that a demon had entered the body of the holy man, and the princess had been mortally wounded with a dagger. But a Frank doctor named Ḥakīm Niccolao had attended her, and held out hopes that she would be well in a short time. This event brought me to the notice of many nobles who were in the camp. For on the matter becoming public, my friends wrote to their acquaintances; and the princess herself, as soon as she was well, wrote to the king that I had perfectly restored her, and she gave me a handsome present.

Corpulence of a Mahomedan.

Another case occurred which made me famous throughout the kingdom. It was as follows: Fidā,e K͟hān ordered the beheadal of a powerful rebel, who plundered in all directions in the king's territories; he was brother-in-law of the *qāẓī* of

Lāhor. His name was Theka Araham (? Thīkā, Arāin),[1] and he was extremely fat. I thought it was a good chance of laying in a stock of human fat, procuring it from the man and his companion, who was also very obese. I spoke to Fidā,e Khān, pointing out the necessity I was under of having this medicament. As the opportunity was favourable, would he give orders to remove the fat from these two condemned men? He then ordered the *koṭwāl* to have this done, and in compliance with the order men were sent to carry out the operation. I thus acquired eighteen *sirs*—that is, five hundred and four ounces purified.[2]

This matter caused great talk in the city, and the *qāẓī*, assembling many of the learned, sent men to complain to the king against Fidā,e Khan for protecting a Frank. On his behalf he had committed the sacrilege of removing the fat of a Mahomedan, a man who read the Qurān and yet had been thus afflicted. According to the strict law the Frank deserved to be burnt, but as Fidā,e Khān declined to listen to argument, they were forced to come to His Majesty to present a complaint and demand justice.

I was warned of the plot, and spoke to Fidā,e Khān about the *qāẓī's* intentions. He sent at once a messenger to court to report that the population of Lāhor were restless, and if there came in any complaint about the beheaded man, Thīkā, Arāin, it must not be listened to, for the *qāẓī* and others had been his supporters. This was enough to secure that on the arrival of the complaint at court, where many had clad themselves in mourning to present the petition, the king should send them away after saying very little, with the remark: 'Caziey zemi, bessare zemi' (*Qaẓāyā-i-zamīn bar-sar-i-zamīn*). This means: 'Cases about land are settled on the land itself.' Thus I was left unharmed for that once and freed from a great persecution that would have cost me my life.

[1] Ibbetson, 'Panjab Ethnology,' 1883, p. 267, paragraph 486, Arāins, or Rāins, a class of vegetable growers. 'They are almost without exception Mussulmans.' They are numerous in the Lāhor district. N. M. mentions this man again (iii. 73), where he says he was a Jăṭ. So the name may be Thīkā *Rām* instead of *Arāīn;* but in that case he would be a Hindū, and not a Mahomedan.

[2] Taking the *ser* at 2 pounds, or 32 ounces, 18 *ser* would be 576 ounces. But the *ser* referred tc may have been a local one of 28 ounces.

God was also pleased to deliver me once more after several months. For [163] there came a relation of the beheaded man expressly to kill me. By a lucky chance he came when I was prescribing for the sick, distributing medicine, adding alms for those who were in want. He came into my *dīwān* with his sword and shield, leaving his spear and horse at my door. Without any salutation he sat down in front of me and watched my movements, the humanity with which I spoke to the sick, and the liberality with which I succoured the needy. Nor did I fail from time to time to observe the face of this new guest, without knowing either who he was or what he wanted. I wondered at his wrathful countenance, his head-shakings, and other signs of a man in anger. Having got rid of my patients, I asked him more than once if he wanted anything in which I could be of use, but he returned no answer. At length, there being no one else left, he asked me if I knew the cause of his coming. I replied that I did not. He said he had come resolved to kill me because I had removed the fat from his uncle. But finding that in my hands it was being well employed, he felt satisfied at making my acquaintance. He rose to his feet, refusing to eat, or take betel, or listen to my words. He could have killed me quite safely, but God was pleased to change his intentions in reward for the little or much that I managed to do for the poor who were in ill-health.

The *qāẓī* did not find it so easy to forget his anger against me. Fidā,e Khān did not stay much longer in Lāhor. He (the *qāẓī*) then sent someone for me, and on my presenting myself he was very affectionate, but did all he knew to trip me up in my talk. He began a conversation about the fat of his brother-in-law, asking me if I ever gave such fat to be taken for a medicine, and for what complaints it was used. I answered, in ignorance of his maliciousness, that fat was not administered by the mouth, but served simply to make ointments in nervous disorders. It was lucky that I answered thus, for if I had said that the fat was also given by the mouth, it would have been enough to afford him an opening for planning a fresh persecution against me, and ordering me to be tortured.

It appeared to him most barbarous to prescribe human fat

to be taken, imagining I did [164] this to make mock of the Mahomedans by getting one man to eat the fat of another. After this, I fell into conversation with him and discovered his malice, and saw the kindness God had done me in making me reply as above. For it was this which had delivered me from death. But he who came to catch me got caught himself! On his demanding of me some remedy for a cough he had, I told him of various drugs; among other things I said that, as he was an old man, human 'myrrh' would be good. He answered that he had already taken it, but it had done him not the least good. Upon this, with a smile, I said openly to him that to me it did not seem much of a thing to give human fat through the mouth by way of medicine, when at the same time he had no scruple in eating human flesh and fat. For that is what is meant by human 'myrrh.' He also could not help laughing, and told me such medicines were to be taken secretly only, so that no one knew.

The Europeans persecute Me.

This persecution was bad enough, but without a doubt the Christians persecuted me worse than the Mahomedans. It arose from their envy at seeing me with name and fame, whereas at the place where I had settled down I had done no harm to any one of them. God alone knows how many times they tried to murder me, and they sent men to steal my books, on which I relied. Finding their projects had no success, they made up their minds to do openly what they had failed to do in hiding.

To this end they sent four Europeans of various nations to murder me. Two came into the house as friends and began to talk to me; another who was to do the deed stood in the doorway, shouting hoarsely a thousand abusive terms at my servants; and the last sat on his horse with his pistols ready, to back up what was going on at the door. Hearing this row I came out, begging the disturber to hold his tongue; he might come in if he wanted to, but if he did not come in let him go his way. When he heard this he fired his pistol, which was already at full-cock, when one of my servants, grappling with him, took the pistol from his hand. He drew his sword to defend himself from the

servants, who had begun settling his business for him with thick sticks, applying them without remorse to him and his servants until they fled. Then I recognised that it was planned treachery, and ordered one [165] of my servants with a drawn bow to see that the one on horseback should not move his hand in the direction of his pistols; if he moved, an arrow was at once to be let fly at him. Thus terrorized, he was afraid to stir or to assist his companion, who was getting his beating. I told the others with their bows and arrows to watch without a word over the two men in the house. Meanwhile I ordered a good thrashing to be given to the insolent fellow. While drawing his sword to defend himself from the servants he cut his hand, and one of my servants seized him round the body so violently that he was brought to the ground. But he would not let his sword be taken away; I therefore ordered them to give it him well until he let go the sword. Seeing that still he clung to it, one of the men planted one foot on his chest, and so crushed it that he had to give up the sword. Thereupon I told them to bind him and carry him to the magistrate. But the man on horseback dismounted and earnestly begged me not to pass this affront upon a white man. His petition was his undoing. I told him to fall at his protector's feet. He declined, but my servants by thumps and holding his neck got him to his knees.

Then I left all the four and rode off at once to Fidā,e Khān, who at the time this happened was in Lāhor. He recognised that I had good reason for anything I had done, and sent men to escort my assailants to the other side of the river Chināb, and on the road he who was the leader died. I will state here that my enemies seized this occasion at the time the Europeans of the army were on their way to the attack on the Paṭhāns, since, being war-time, no one would be able to know afterwards who had made the attempt. But God, who seemed to cherish a special desire for my protection, would not permit my death at the hands of those who had wished to do so on the quiet, by entering my house in the guise of friends. They did not succeed in this or other treacheries; but my enemies managed to give me poison, from which I escaped, although I felt its effects for some years [166].

I fail in marrying the Daughter of Dīndār Khān.

So great was the name that I had of being fortunate with the cases that I undertook, that they came from many places distant from Lāhor to call me in to visit patients. This was of great profit to me, even to the extent that many wanted me in marriage. If I had been of little wisdom, I should have had no want of marriage proposals of exceptional quality among the Mahomedans. But, thanks to God, although I left my home a mere youth, there remained ever graven on my memory the good teaching of my parents.

But I cannot resist telling of one case that happened to me with a well-connected widow woman, the daughter of Dīndār Khān, Paṭhān. On one occasion I had treated one of her sisters at Qasūr,[1] twenty leagues from Lāhor. This lady was present, and took such a fancy to me that she wanted to marry me. She herself spoke to me about it, and told me she would make her own arrangements for flight. At first I paid no heed to these things; still, seeing the woman so determined, and she being rich, well proportioned, and intelligent, I began to entertain the idea of carrying her off to Europe as she desired.

The agreement was that she should give sufficient money to buy a big ship, on which would be placed the bulk of her wealth. Then she would pretend that she had vowed a pilgrimage to Mekka, would obtain permission for this, and leave home. When she was on her voyage and had left the port of Sūrat, I with my ship was to fall upon the vessel going to Mekka, and carry her off with me to Europe. The agreement was in process of execution, but she was not sufficiently prudent. She roused suspicions of her affection for me by forwarding message upon message by an old woman in her service. But the special cause for the non-execution of the agreement was a Portuguese called Joaõ Rodrigues de Abreu. After having done him many favours, and proved him sufficiently faithful, I confided our plans to him, intending to take him along with me. But he did not act in correspondence to

[1] Qasūr, a Paṭhān town, south-east of Lāhor, lat. 31° 9′, long. 74° 27′.

my friendship, for he went off and told Misrī Khān, who was a suitor for marriage [167] with the same woman.

Discovering thus the agreement we had made, and the friendship of the said widow, which she had declared by sending me messages with valuable presents, Misrī Khān, through fear of Fidā,e Khān and other nobles who were very fond of me, was content not to do me any harm, or send men to murder me, but only wrote me a letter in which he said that he knew quite well why Jānī Bībī, the widow's maidservant, came so often to my house; but he saw quite well that what I was doing would in the end cost me my life. I pretended I did not understand the letter, and replied that Jānī Bībī came and went as if she were my mother. If it displeased him that she came to my house, he had only to tell her not to go again. By this means I found out we were already discovered. When Jānī Bībī came, I asked her to inform her mistress that it was no longer safe to come, and she must conceal everything, otherwise she would cause my death. On finding that her project could not succeed, the widow married Misrī Khān, but only lived for eight days after her marriage. If I had been like many Europeans in the Mogul country and Hindūstān, I should have accepted the money that she wanted to give me for buying the ship, then taken flight for Europe, disregarding the marriage and all my promises. I did not act thus, not for fear of discovery, but because I had always professed to be an honest man, and thus I did not allow myself to fall into this temptation. The only thing that weighed upon me was that, through the treachery of that Portuguese, the lady continued to be a Mahomedan when she desired to become a Christian.

Daulat, Eunuch.

The fame I had acquired as a good surgeon and physician was the cause, among other things, that I was importuned by the eunuch Daulat, a man of staid habits, rich, and well known. This eunuch was in the employ of 'Ali Mardān Khān, he who made over the fortress of Qandahār to the King Shāhjahān. When his master died in the year one thousand six hundred

and fifty-two,[1] this eunuch of his carried his bones to Persia to be buried in the tomb of his forefathers. The fact became known to Shāh 'Abbās, at that time King of Persia, who ordered the arrest of the eunuch Daulat. 'Ali Mardān Khān's remains he directed to be burnt, and the eunuch's nose and ears to be cut off. He was then to be expelled from the country. The king held it an act of presumption [168] to bring the bones of a traitor into a kingdom, of which in his lifetime he was a declared enemy.

The wretched Daulat retired full of shame to Lāhor, and kept close within his house. Knowing the work I had done, he several times requested me by some art or ingenuity to make his nostrils and ears grow again—an impossible thing. But he imagined that Christians could do miracles with elixirs. He therefore besought and entreated me that I would do him this favour, and he would give me anything I asked. I answered that now there was no remedy, the wounds being old, for if they had been fresh something might have been done. This reply of mine only inspired greater hopes, and he asked me to renew the sores by making new wounds. Then I was to cut off the best-shaped nose and the finest ears from one or other of his slaves, and apply them to his face. He embraced me, he styled me Galen, Bū 'Alī (*i.e.*, Avicenna), Aristotle, and Plato; he begged me to do him this favour, and make him happy all the rest of his life.

The slaves then present were in a great state of mind lest I should accept the eunuch's proposal, and gazed at me with mournful faces, as if entreating me not to comply with the request. I was laughing inwardly at them, contrasting the eagerness of Daulat with the fright of the slaves. But as a final answer I stated that even if I did what he asked, and cut off the noses and ears of the slaves, it would be of no avail, for being another's flesh it would never unite, the only result being to disfigure his slaves without any benefit to him. Finding there was no remedy, and being a facetious

[1] This surrender of Qandahār took place in 1637 (Elphinstone, 510). 'Ali Mardān Khān died near Nihārā, on his way to Lāhor, on the 12th Rajab, 1067 H. (May 7, 1657, N.S.) ('Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī').

fellow, he said in joke: 'I know not what sins I have committed to be made an out-and-out eunuch twice over, first in my inferior part, and, secondly, in my upper half. Now there is nothing more to deprive me of, nor do I fear anything but losing my head itself.' This saying served us often afterwards as a subject of conversation.

Not only was I famed as a doctor, but it was rumoured that I possessed the power of expelling demons from the bodies of the possessed. This idea spread because I was a man capable of conversation, in which I showed my nimbleness of wit whenever an occasion presented itself. [169] Once some Mahomedans were at my house consulting me about their complaints when night came on. I did not want to lose the chance of overawing them, and letting them see that I had the power of giving orders to the devil. In the middle of our talk I began to speak as if to some demon, telling him to hold his tongue and not interrupt my talk, and let me serve these gentlemen, for it was already late. Then I resumed my conversation with the Mahomedans. But they had now only half their souls left in their bodies, and spoke in trembling tones. I made use of their terror for my own amusement, and raising my voice still more, I shouted at him whom I assumed to be present, lying invisible in some corner. I resumed my talk to the Mahomedans; and this I did four or five times, each time showing myself more provoked and fierce. At length I threatened the demon with expulsion from the house, and rising to my feet, angrily laid hold of a coarse glass bottle in which I had a little spirits of wine, and going near the candle, set light to it, and uttered a lot of abuse to the supposed unquiet spirit. Then approaching the window, I made a noise with the bottle like a pistol-shot. I returned the bottle to its place, and said to the demon that I objected to his coming any more into my house. I then turned again to the Mahomedans, and resumed the conversation. They were unable to speak a word out of fright, and prayed for permission to leave; they would come back another time. But the special joke was that they were afraid to go out, dreading that the demon might attack them in the street. I reassured them by saying that the demon

stood in fear of me, and would not do such a thing; for I had the means of punishing him. It would suffice, while going to their houses, for them to say *en route* that they came from the Doctor Sāḥib. A grand medicine certainly, and a great exorcism for a make-believe phantasm!

But this was not enough to induce them to venture out; whereby I was forced to send with them one of my servants, who as they progressed was to mutter, 'Duhāī Ḥakīm Jī'—that is, 'On the part of the Doctor Ṣāḥib.' Under these conditions I got rid of all those Mahomedans. Being credulous in matters of sorcery, they began to bruit abroad in all directions that the Frank doctor had the power of expelling demons, including dominion over them. This was enough to make many come, and among them they brought before me many women [170] who pretended to be possessed (as is their habit when they want to leave their houses to carry out their tricks, and meet with their lovers), and it was hoped that I could deal with them. The usual treatment was bullying, tricks, emetics, clysters, which caused much amazement, the actual cautery, and evil-smelling fumigation with filthy things. Nor did I desist until the patients were worn out, and said that now the devil had fled. In this manner I restored many to their senses, with great increase of reputation, and still greater diversion for myself. It may be that some reader will not put faith in me, but Europeans who are acquainted with the Mogul country, and my character in India, know that I was capable of many practical jokes of this sort. What is certain is that I very seldom lost my temper, and knew how to divert myself in proper time and place with harmless amusements.

'Izzat K͟hān, the Viceroy of Sind, dresses himself as a Woman.

Before we proceed to speak of the retirement of Aurangzeb [from the Panjāb to Dihlī] the reader will be pleased to hear of a curious matter which happened in the city of Taṭṭah,[1] in

[1] Saiyid 'Izzat K͟hān began life in the employ of Dārā. In the twenty-third year of Shāhjahān (1650) he was made 'Izzat K͟hān, and sent as Governor to Multān. In the thirty-first year (1658) he replaced Bahādur K͟hān as Governor of Lāhor;

the province of Sind, to the governor, or viceroy, called 'Izzat Khān, a man I knew very well. This great lord was a great lover of women, nor did he content himself with the liberty or with the wealth he had, by use of which he could choose everywhere whomsoever happened to please him. He learnt that a certain citizen of Taṭṭah had a beautiful daughter, whereupon he set to work to see if he could bring her over to his designs. Great were the solicitations by the medium of procuresses; and at last the girl revealed to her father the messages sent her by 'Izzat Khān. The father rejoiced to hear the news, seeing in it an opening to avenge himself on 'Izzat Khān for the harshness with which he treated the inhabitants of Taṭṭah.

He told his daughter that if the procuress came again she was to make a good deal of difficulty, but end by saying that the viceroy might come. But he was not to arrive till nine o'clock at night, when her father was on the point of retiring to rest. He must come wearing woman's clothes, for should her father appear at the same time he would suppose it to be some woman come on a visit. When 'Izzat Khān arrived he was to be taken into a room, and she was to fasten the door on the outside, and tell him that after she [171] had seen that her father had gone to bed, she would come back to pass the night. The daughter obeyed, and carried out in full her father's instructions. Thus 'Izzat Khān passed the night in solitude, locked up in the room, and deprived of the hoped-for companion.

Here he remained till it was clear daylight, and the father of that clever girl failed not to send word to his friends of what was up. Thus the following day, being the day of audience, many men assembled on pretext of having business with the governor, but really to be witness of his downfall, and to insist that information on the subject should be sent to the king. All awaited

left it with Dārā for Multān (1659), but did not go on to Bhakkar. He joined Aurangzeb, and was made 3,000, 500 horse; he took part in the battle against Shāh Shujā'. In the fourth year (1662) he replaced Sanjar Khān as *faujdār* of Bhakkar, and in the tenth year (1667-68) became Governor of Taṭṭah, vice Ghazanfar Khān, being raised to 3,500, 2,000 horse ('Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' ii. 475). In the twenty-second year, 1090 H. (1678-79), he was sent to Multān as deputy of Prince Akbar ('M.-i-'Ā.,' 173).

the Nawāb's coming out to hold audience, or at least the arrival of word that he was not to appear. The eunuchs were at a loss what to say, and reported him to be ill. But as it was obligatory to write to the king that the Nawāb was unwell, the public reporter and the secret news-writer both demanded an interview with the doctor and admission to see the viceroy.

Thus everything was in great confusion, for the medical man, ignorant of what had happened, said he had heard no word of his master being ill. Some went so far as to say that the Nawāb was dead, and thus a turmoil arose in the city and crowds rushed to the palace. Among them was the venerable citizen who held the Nawāb prisoner in his house. He asked why there was all this uproar in the audience hall. They told him it was because they did not know what had become of the Nawāb. Thereupon he replied that he knew quite well where he was, and if they wanted to see him they had only to go to his house and he would show the Nawāb to them. This was enough to make everyone follow him, the greater part of them already informed of the truth. On reaching his house the citizen took from his daughter's hand the key of the room, and opening the door, showed them the Nawāb. All were astonished to see an old man with a big beard dressed as a woman. 'Izzat Khān, out of countenance and ashamed of himself, hid his face and went off to the palace in a palanquin. There he shut himself up and never appeared, making the excuse that he was ill. The officials wrote at once to Aurangzeb about the facts. The king ordered 'Izzat Khān to be removed from his office, to be deprived of rank, and sent to court on foot in the charge of cavalry [172]. But yielding to the petitions of many friends, the king varied his order, and allowed him to come to Lāhor on horseback, where he was to remain for the rest of his life, as he did.

AURANGZEB RETURNS TO DIHLĪ FROM THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE PAṬHĀNS.

Finding that the death of Mahābat Khān had been of no use to him in securing an honourable conclusion of his enterprise against the Paṭhāns, Aurangzeb decided to beat an honourable

retreat. He arranged with Cassam Can (? Qāsim Khān)[1] and other commanders that they should report in public audience that the Paṭhāns had now submitted, and that A'ẓam Khān took upon himself to stand security for them. In this way he was able to satisfy the army, after having lost the flower of his soldiery. Thus after two years and two months Aurangzeb returned to Dihlī.[2] On this return march he passed near the mausoleum of Jahāngīr, his grandfather, but declined to pray at it, saying that it was the burial-place of an infidel. On the contrary, he issued orders to remove the precious stones and jewels from it, and [stop] the alms which gave him the kingdom.

While the king was on his return march, A'ẓam Khān, who had taken upon his shoulders the pacification of the Paṭhāns, went to visit them, leaving his troops at some distance. He interviewed them all, and told them that it was he who had persuaded the king to retire and had restored peace. For he wanted to live in amity with them, as had been so long the case. Muḥammad Amīn Khān had been the means of breaking the ancient peace, but he pledged his word to them that he would maintain their former privileges. The cunning A'ẓam Khān made himself like one of them, going about among the Paṭhāns without sword or shield, totally unarmed. This was to show how much he confided in them, and in this way he made friends with them, waiting for the opportunity of executing his project of destroying their leaders easily and quickly.

To this intent he decided to have a son circumcised, and, as is usual among Mahomedans, he invited the principal commanders among the Paṭhāns, who accepted the invitation but announced that they must be allowed to come armed. He declared himself satisfied at their coming on that condition. His idea was that by this concession he would prove more completely the absence of suspicion, letting them come with

[1] *Qāsim Khān*: I can find no man of this name to suit these facts. The Governor left behind by Aurangzeb was Fidā,e Khān. 'Cassam Can' must refer to him under his newly given title of A'ẓam Khān, but negligently spelt.

[2] On the 11th Shawwāl, nineteenth year, 1086 H. (December 29, 1675), he started from Ḥasan Abdāl, and halted at Kālā Bāgh. On the 15th Ẓu,l Qa'dah (January 31, 1676) he entered the grove of Faiẓ Bakhsh at Lāhor ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 148).

their spears, arrows, swords, and shields, just as in war-time. When they were all seated together, A'ẓam Khān called for a melon, and plunging his knife into it, cut his hand slightly on purpose. He asked leave from the company seated to retire to have the wound seen to, saying he would be back in a moment. He went into a room, and then his soldiers, posted in readiness for the attempt, with their matchlocks and arrows destroyed the whole of the Paṭhān leaders, being fifty-two in number. Thus he got rid of the Paṭhān chiefs, so that they could not attempt another revolt, and at this result the king was highly gratified. Since there could be no further rebellion, he sent to supersede him (A'ẓam Khān) Prince Akbar, accompanied by Asad Khān, chief secretary (grand *wazīr*) to the king.[1] On their way they distributed robes of honour, and announced that the king had recalled A'ẓam Khān to court to punish him for the treachery he had planned and his breach of the conditions of peace. The Paṭhāns were appeased, but Akbar wanted to use the opportunity to rebel against his father and make use of the Paṭhāns, if they would join him in the rising. But prudent Asad Khān drove this idea out of his head.[2]

THE PEACE WITH SHIVĀ JĪ IS BROKEN.

When Aurangzeb arrived at Dihlī[3] he sent an order to Bahādur Khān to break the peace with Shivā Jī, and make continuous war on him. At the same time he was to menace the King of Gulkandah for having allowed Shivā Jī, his

[1] On the 12th Rabī' I. of the twenty-second year, 1090 H. (April 23, 1679), Prince Akbar was sent off towards Lāhor; on the 2nd Sha'bān, 1090 H. (September 8, 1679), he arrived from Lāhor; and on the 7th Sha'bān (September 13), at Pālam, he was sent off to Ajmer ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 175, 180).

[2] In the twentieth year, 1088 H. (1677), on the recommendation of Prince Shāh 'Ālam, A'ẓam Khān, Kokah (Fidā,e Khān), was replaced at Kābul by Amīr Khān. He was sent to supersede Shāistah Khān in Bengal. In 1089 H. (1678) he is mentioned as the dismissed Governor of Bengal, then on his way to Bahār; he died at Ḍhākah on the 12th Rabī' II., 1089 H. (June 3, 1678) ('M.-i-'Ā.,' 157, 159, 168).

[3] Aurangzeb reached Dihlī on the 22nd Muḥarram, nineteenth year, 1087 H. (April 5, 1676). Bahādur Khān is Grant-Duff's 'Khan Jehan Bahadur,' his newer title (see pp. 121, 122).

enemy, to cross his territories on the way to the Karnātik, where he had increased his power by the conquest of fortresses, of which we have spoken (II. 156). As a penalty for allowing this passage across Gulkandah, much money, munitions of war, and jewels, were to be demanded; also, in addition to the above, an elephant that the king owned—all of which he agreed to. This elephant was not only of great size, but had its tusks crooked—that is, not straight like others but bent like buffalo's horns, which, after describing a great circle, ended by meeting at the side of its head. So large was the circle made by these tusks that in spite of the width of the fort gate at Aurangābād, it was still [174] necessary to make the elephant move with the greatest care to avoid the corners of the gates. It was from this peculiarity that once when moving hastily it caught one tusk, which was broken in half, and they were forced to join it together with a massive ring. But it was impossible so to mend it as to preserve its beauty.

The manner in which Aurangzeb treated the Kings of Gulkandah and Bījāpur was full of policy. For he went on diminishing their power little by little; to-day asking from Gulkandah one thing, to-morrow another; one year some money, another year munitions of war. With Bījāpur every year, when the rainy season came on, he made peace, getting them to give him by agreement some fortress, or so much money, or so much land, or a province. Finally he asked for the king's daughter in marriage for his son A'ẓam Tārā, swearing an oath that after this alliance all wars should cease. Then, the rainy season over, he commenced afresh, until he took all the king's country and made him a prisoner, as I shall state in its proper place (II. 236).

Multafat Khān marches against the Āgrah Villagers.

But let us now make mention of the peasants of Āgrah, of whom I spoke before in my First Part (I. 91). When Aurangzeb had returned to Dihlī, these men rose and refused to pay their revenue. Owing to this he was obliged to send an army against them, and for this purpose he selected an officer called

Multafat Khān,[1] with whose fidelity the king was not satisfied, and sent him out to force the villagers to pay. On this man's arrival near to a village where these rustics were collected and ready to defend themselves, he sent for the oldest in age and the greatest in authority to come to his presence.

On the old man's appearing, Multafat Khān met him cheerfully and gave him a seat, and informed him most tenderly that he had not come to harm a soul, or to deal with them as enemies, but only as sons or brothers. But he must insist that payment of the revenue was necessary. It were better to pay peacefully [175] than run any risk of life, and provoke so many deaths and misfortunes, leaving fathers without sons and wives without husbands, grandfathers without grandsons. If he, like a man of understanding and capacity, would persuade the others to pay without a fight, he gave his word to support him at court in everything he could desire or demand.

The old man smiled and said he knew quite well they would never listen to his words, they being rapacious, insolent, and over-bold. Never would they abandon their ancestors' practices. All the same, he had no objection to saying to the men of the village whatever was required. The old man took his leave of Multafat Khān, and, drawing near to his village, incited them all to hold fast their ancestral practices, for better were it to die fighting than admit they were subject to revenue payments. Thus they all came out, resolved to die rather than pay revenue. They fought with such desperation that they routed the force of Multafat Khān, and took him a prisoner. After they had given him a thorough shoe-beating they let him go, and told him to be off. They spared his life, for they had discovered he was a woman and not a soldier. The report of this affair reached the king, and he sent a man with poison to be given to Multafat Khān. He was told it was better to die from a hidden cause with honour intact, than to die in sight of all the court a dishonoured man. Coerced by this message

[1] Multafat Khān, having been removed from the *faujdār*-ship of Ghāzīpur-Zamāniyah, was made *faujdār* of the Akbarābād (Āgrah) environs. In an attack on a village he was wounded, and died on the 19th Jamādạ II., twenty-fourth year, 1092 H. (July 6, 1681) ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 209).

Multafat Khān, in desperation, took the poison, and put an end to his life.[1]

Aurangzeb orders a Search in the Houses of the Padres at Āgrah.

The death of Father Busée and the want of prudence of a Jesuit father were the cause of the padres undergoing many disagreeables. It ended in some of them being expelled from the kingdom. At this moment Aurangzeb was incensed by having his recollections of Jahāngīr revived on the sight of his mausoleum, and he (Jahāngīr) had been a great favourer of the priests. They said to the king that these priests had idols in their houses (thus did they designate the images that the fathers possessed), and that though there was no longer any heathen temple elsewhere in the realm, these men retained such idols in contravention of the royal orders. This was enough. Aurangzeb sent forthwith to have a search made in the house of the priests, fully determined to destroy them [176] if the searchers came across any figures in the said house. The priests were warned in time by some friends, and at once removed all the figures, leaving only the cross, which, as everyone knew, was our device. The men deputed went and searched diligently everywhere, but could not lay hands on any figure. Now, among them were some friendly and some inimical. The news-writer, who was opposed to the priests, wanted to record falsely that they had found two figures; but the other officials forbade him, saying that it was not just to write falsehoods against poor people who did harm to none. Thus this tempest passed over the padres.

Wine of Kābul.

Aurangzeb feared that some powerful person might make use of the bravery of the Paṭhāns for some attempt in the direction

[1] Ibrāhīm Ḥusain, entitled Multafat Khān, son of Mīr 'Abd-ul-hādī, Aṣālat Khān ('M.-ul-U.,' i. 167), who died 1057 H., son of Mīr Mīrān, Ḥusainī, Ni'amat Ilāhī, Yazdī (*ibid.*, iii. 341); he died at Akbarābād on the 19th Jamādạ II., 1092 H. (July 6, 1681), rank 2,500. His brother, Sulṭān Ḥusain, Iftikhār Khān, died shortly before him ('Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' iii. 611, i. 252, and 'Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī,' 1092).

of Kābul. Therefore, after Akbar had been some time in that kingdom, he issued an order for his supersession, and sent Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur in his place,[1] to keep a bridle upon the neighbours of the Paṭhāns. Here Shāh 'Ālam gave himself up to pleasure, drinking wine and feasting, for at that place there is good wine.

They do there a marvellous thing. On making the wine they put it into clay jars, and throw into some of them that they wish to keep a ball of clay, hollow inside. The jar is then thoroughly closed. After two years, on opening the jars, they find the ball at the bottom. This is a mark that it is full of wine, and its contents are given only to great lords, as being the finest extract of the whole jar.

Shāh 'Ālam enlivened his spirits with this wine to such an extent that his tutor wrote to the king. The latter sent him a reproving letter, recalling him to court. But the tutor on the journey back paid the penalty of acting as spy, for Shāh 'Ālam gave a secret order to one of his officers to kill him when he was marching a little apart from the army. This was done accordingly while Shāh 'Ālam was at Kābul. Aurangzeb next sent his son Akbar as governor of Ujjain. As there was a rajah in rebellion, a secret order was given by letter to open a correspondence with this rajah, and manage so that he should come in.[2] He was at once to be put into durance. Akbar carried out his father's order without fail [177]. He was very skilful in making pretences to the rajah, writing that he had an important business to make over to him, in which he had need of his counsel and valour. The rajah allowed himself to be deceived, and came to the court of Prince Akbar. On his arrival the people kept in readiness for the purpose slew him. But this lesson given by Aurangzeb to his son was afterwards used by him to subject his father to great danger, when this same Akbar rose in rebellion, as a little farther on it will be necessary to relate (II. 190).

[1] Shāh 'Ālam reached Kābul on the 25th Rabī' II., twentieth year, 1088 H. (June 27, 1677), and arrived at Dihlī again on the 6th Ẕu,l Ḥijjah, twenty-first year, 1088 H. (January 30, 1678) ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 161, 165).

[2] Probably this is a distorted tradition of the death of Kishan Singh, Hāḍā, at Ujjain in 1088 H., Rabī' II. (June, 1677) ('M.-i-'Ā.,' 161).

My Departure from Lāhor.

Having acquired a sufficient capital, I became desirous of withdrawing from the Mogul country and living once more among Christians. This I could not effect by moving to Goa, for the mode of life of those gentlemen did not suit me. I resolved to retire to a village called Bandora, which is under the Jesuit fathers, who do not allow any Portuguese to live within it beyond a few of their own faction.[1] For as soon as any white man appears, they put a spy on him, who follows him constantly. On no account will they allow such a man to sleep in the village. Nevertheless, as they knew that I was not a troublesome man, they were content to allow me to become a resident. In the village dwelt many merchants of different nations, it being a place of trade. One could live there in security, through the efforts of the fathers in defending themselves from the thieves, who traversed the ocean in such numbers that it was necessary for many vessels together to leave the port, for the Malavares (? Mālabārīs) and Sanganes (? Sanjānīs) infest this coast.[2]

The news spread that I meant to leave Lāhor, and I was forced to affect that the report was false, for they would never have let me get away, neither the nobles nor the lower orders, for I had great repute and was much thought of. To keep me they placed spies upon me to hinder my departure. But I carried out my intention in such a way as to mislead the spies; I left at night without letting anyone know. Thus I was able to proceed on my journey, for I left my heavy baggage behind, and everything in my house in its usual order. I reached Sihrind without interference, and from Sihrind, passing outside Dihlī, I rested in Āgrah. From Āgrah I went to Sūrat, where I came across the woman of whom I spoke earlier (II. 71), she who married the Armenian. From Sūrat I went on [178]

[1] In Part III., fol. 198, N. M. says he left Mogul territory in 1676. Bandora is nine miles north of Bombay Fort (Thornton, 'Gazetteer,' 65). In Part III., fol. 265, the author says he was at Bandora in 1677.

[2] Yule, 540, quotes from Barros the form 'Malavar' (1653), and Pietro della Valle (1623) speaks of the 'Malabar pirates.' *Sanganes*, from Sindān, a ruined town eighty-eight miles north of Bombay (*ibid.*, 782).

to Damāõ,[1] then through the territories of the Portuguese, where the fathers of the society (*i.e.*, the Jesuits) did me many kindnesses, and at length I arrived at Bandora.

Here I was advised by some people to buy a ship and thus not to leave my capital without fructifying. They proposed to me for taking charge of the ship a certain Ignacio de Taide, a Portuguese, who lived with the reputation of being a good Christian. To him I made over my ship and its cargo, which in all cost me the sum of fourteen thousand rupees. This caused others to confide to him considerable sums on seeing that I had faith in him. My orders to him were not to stray from the convoy. But having other views of his own, he went with the convoy only for a certain time. After that he began to fall behind, and, abandoning the ship, disappeared, for he had raised large sums on *Respondentia* bonds; he now started the story that the pirates had seized the ship. In that case he would not be obliged to pay the money that he had borrowed. By this means I was left devoid of capital, having nothing left but a little money for daily expenses. This necessitated my asking payment from Diogo de Mello de Sampayo,[2] son of Luis de Mello de Sampayo, called the Roncador (the Bully), of whom I have spoken (I. 123), he who fought so valorously at Damaõ. I asked him to do me the favour of returning the two hundred rupees, with which I had helped him in his necessity, out of which he had only repaid twenty. But all I received was the answer that he had given me the twenty rupees in charity; as for the money he owed me, I might collect it from the Mogul, who was indebted to him in a large amount.[3]

My Return to the Mogul Country.

Finding myself without means and very ill, I made up my mind to return, on recovering my health, to the Mogul country

[1] Damāõ, Damaun, 101 miles north of Bombay, on the coast. An incident at Damān is spoken of in Part III., 198, as happening in 1676.

[2] Query the same as Diogo de Mello Sampaio mentioned by Danvers, ii. 370, in 1690.

[3] In Part III., fol. 265, N. M. says Antonio de Teixa, of Bandora, wanted him to marry his daughter.

and try my fortune once more. Thus when I had got well I left Bandora with a friar in my charge, whose name out of respect I will not disclose, and Antonio Machado, a man well known for his bravado and talk, which led to his murder at Goa. God alone knows what I endured with this fellow-traveller, who, looking on the Mahomedans of Hindūstān as being the same as the Portuguese, tried to carry everything off by bravado. He ignored the fact that Hindūstāni Mahomedans are very touchy, and possess sense and judgment just like any other nation. If I wanted to write here the foolish acts [179] done on the road by those two men, my story would become a very long one.

On arrival in Āgrah, I left behind me the friar, who stayed on account of some business. The other man wished to come with me as far as Dihlī; then he attempted by force to take up his quarters in my house. But I declined, and he was forced to search for a home elsewhere. He encountered all that I had prognosticated, for I was fairly acquainted with the Mogul country. It wanted very little more for this man to have brought the fathers of the society (the Jesuits) to perdition; for in his desperation, having nothing to eat, he tried to denounce them to the *qāẓī* of Āgrah. He said that the only object of the fathers' stay in the Mogul realm was to buy Qurāns and transmit them to Europe. There on a fixed day in each year a festival took place, when they burnt the image of Muḥammad. This was quite enough to have caused the fathers to be burnt alive; and, seeing themselves in such danger, they collected as an alms the sum of five hundred rupees [for him], and were thus delivered from a great peril. For, being a man of little understanding, he was capable of doing such a silly thing. He wandered hither and thither, and then quitted Mogul territory, I giving him his expenses to take him as far as Sūrat.[1]

I ENTER THE SERVICE OF SHĀH 'ĀLAM.

On my reaching Dihlī several nobles took notice of my arrival, and called me in. The chief of these was the Master of the Ceremonies to Prince Shāh 'Ālam, whose wife was very

1 For the fate of Antonio Machado Supico, see Part III., p. 221.

ill and given up by the other doctors. My treatment of her renewed my reputation, which during my absence of a year had been somewhat diminished. But the Persian doctors in the household of Shāh 'Ālam did not approve of my continuing at court after having cured the said woman, whose case they had given up. This caused me to decide on a return to Lāhor, for I saw that the court was not for me.

With this intention I left secretly, but the princess, wife of Shāh 'Ālam, who had learnt of the benefit I had effected in the case of the wife of the Master of the Ceremonies, brought to mind the cases I had cured at Lāhor when her parents were there. I had also treated her in secret for a small abscess she had in her ear. Accordingly she besought [180] the prince one night to take me into his service, allotting to me noble's pay. Not to discontent the princess, whom he loved much, the prince fixed for me three hundred rupees a month, and gave me in addition the title of a *manṣabdār*—that is to say, of a noble. This was a singular favour, the Mahomedans not being accustomed to grant such honours to Christians; furthermore, such physicians and surgeons remain subordinate to and under the orders of the head physician. But I was a privileged person, for I agreed to serve on no other condition than that I must be left free, nor must anyone else give me orders. Thus I took service with Shāh 'Ālam, although my Christian enemies did all they knew to prevent the prince's accepting me. And thus, unwilling as I was to serve Aurangzeb, I was the servant of his son, beginning my service in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-eight.[1]

SHĀH 'ĀLAM GOES TO AURANGĀBĀD, AND THE DEATH OF SHIVĀ JĪ.

It was in this year that Aurangzeb, dissatisfied at the way in which Bahādur Khān was conducting the war against Shivā Jī and Bījāpur, ordered him to be superseded by Diler Khān, and

[1] The year is most probably correct. Shāh 'Ālam reached Dihlī from Kābul on the 6th Ẕū,l Ḥijjah, 1088 H. (January 30, 1678, N.S.) ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī', p. 165). The prince was appointed to the Dakhin on the 11th Sha'bān, 1089 H. (September 28, 1678, N.S.) (*ibid.*, p. 169).

directed him to return to court.[1] He came, but with such ostentation that Aurangzeb was forced to show his displeasure. He took away his pay and rank, and paid no farther attention to him. He remained in this position for some time, until Shāh 'Ālam interceded for him in such a way that in the end the king gave way to the prince's petitions, and restored his pay and rank. But this caused no improvement in Bahādur Khān, who remained as convinced as ever that the king was under some obligation to allow him his pay and rank, or even greater than that he held.

Meanwhile Diler Khān did what he could to defend himself from Shivā Jī, who did nothing but plunder in every direction. It was not possible to attack his territories as they lay among hills very difficult of access, forming as it were a defence unto themselves. For if any force penetrated them, the passes were so easily closed behind them, that the greater portion of the invaders were kept there unable to do anything [181]. The most that Diler Khān could do was to fight with Bījāpur and Gulkandah; and from consideration of this war, Aurangzeb once more ordered Shāh 'Ālam to the Dakhin. Shivā Jī, to show how little he thought of Shāh 'Ālam, advanced to the gates of Aurangābād without Shāh 'Ālam being able to do anything—nay, he was in great fear lest Shivā Jī might attack the suburbs and sack the whole environs.[2] For he had such vigilant spies that he was informed of the places where this man and the other had buried their wealth through fear of him. But Shivā Jī could not tarry long, for by rushing hither and thither he tired himself out, and died vomiting blood in one thousand six hundred and seventy-nine.[3]

[1] For Khān Jahān's (Bahādur Khān's) recall, and Diler Khān's succession, see Grant-Duff, p. 126 (? 1677). Diler Khān was ordered to the Dakhin before Muḥarram of the nineteenth year, 1087 H. (March, 1677). In the twenty-first year, 1088 H. (late in 1677, or early in 1678), Khān Jahān was recalled, 'Abd-ur-raḥmān Khān, Bakhshī and *Wāqi'ah-nigār* being put in command till Diler Khān's arrival ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 150, 161).

[2] Grant-Duff, 129, ascribes this event to 1679, and says the place plundered was Jālnah, where Shivā Jī remained three days without Shāh 'Ālam moving from Aurangābād, a distance of a little over forty miles (see Khāfī Khān, ii. 270, 271).

[3] The 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 194, line 7, and the 'Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī,' state that Shivā Jī died on the 24th Rabī' II. of the twenty-third year, 1091 H.

Aurangzeb was gratified at the death of this great enemy. When he was dying, the rajah forbad his officers to recognise as their lord anyone else than Rām Rājā,[1] who was his second son, seeing that from an early age he had declined to acknowledge Sambhā Jī as his son. Thus he ended his life, after having risen against his benefactor the King of Bījāpur, and, sword in hand, had cloven his path to power, killing and devastating, giving full occupation even to so powerful a sovereign as the Mogul king, and creating a new realm in Hindūstān. This kingdom became such a powerful opponent of the Mogul—that overcomer and captor of kings—that it compelled him to leave his capital and dwell in camps for more than nineteen years. At this date of writing, which is the twenty-first of May in one thousand six hundred and ninety-nine, my spies, who arrived at four o'clock in the afternoon, bring me letters from the army, and inform me that the royal camp was in great difficulty and confusion. The reason is that another rebel has joined [the Mahrattahs]; he is called Chanda, a Hindū prince. They have invested the camp, and are carrying off the treasure coming in for the army from Hindūstān, blocking the roads and defeating the forces sent against them.

But when Sambhā Jī[2] heard that his father was dead, he left Bījāpur at once and entered his father's territories, some of the officers being his partisans. These men joined him, his brother being a minor. Thus he took upon himself, employing the valour of his captains, to give trouble to the Moguls. In order that the officers might not quarrel among themselves, he sent his brother a prisoner to a fortress. He signalized his accession

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(May 22, 1680, N.S.). The latter describes him as Shivā Jī, Bhonslah, son of Sāhū Jī, a big man in the Dakhin and a gainer of victories; while the former yields the detail that, 'having come in from a ride, he vomited blood twice through excess of heat.' Grant-Duff's date (p. 131) is April 5, 1680. *Kāfire ba jahannum raft* ('An infidel went to hell') is a chronogram for the event.

[1] Rāmā Jī, or Rām Rājā, the second son by the second wife, was born *circa* 1670, and died in March, 1700 (Grant-Duff, 133, 134, 175).

[2] Sambhā Jī was the eldest son by the first wife; he was born in 1657, and executed on the 24th Jamādạ II., 1100 H. (March 14, 1689). Grant-Duff, pp. 133, 134, 160, has August; the 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 325, has the 29th of Jamādạ II.

to power by beheading the officers [182] considered by him wanting in zeal for his cause. On the proper occasion (II. 207) I will state how he (Sambhā Jī) showed me his sword, and told me that he himself with that sword had cut off the heads of thirty of his officers, and as for the others, he had their eyes gouged out.

Death of Rajah Jaswant Singh.

In this same year (? 1678) died Rajah Jaswant Singh[1] on the farther side of the river Indus. On obtaining information of this death, Aurangzeb sent an order to the viceroy to forward to court the two sons of the rajah; he also wrote to them direct that he wished to reward the valour of their father. They came with five hundred horsemen, leaving the surplus men to find their way to their own country.[2]

When they arrived at Dihlī they heard that, instead of rewarding them, Aurangzeb meant to cut off their heads. On finding this out, they fled from the city before daybreak, and posted two hundred and fifty horsemen on the bridge with twelve arches[3] which stands opposite Humāyūn's mausoleum. Their orders were to hinder anyone from passing and seizing the little rajahs. In the morning Aurangzeb knew of the rajahs' flight, and at once sent a force to pursue and seize them. But the two hundred and fifty Rājpūts defended the passage most valorously, and prevented anyone getting past them. Men were killed on both sides, but no one was able to pass. Then night fell, and the Rājpūts who had barred the way rejoined the others who were in charge of the rajahs. Among the dead were two women clothed as men, who gladly offered their lives to defend their princes against the cruelty of Aurangzeb.

The death of Rajah Jaswant Singh was used by Aurangzeb

[1] Jaswant Singh died on the 6th Z̤u,l Qa'dah, 1089 H. (December 18, 1678, N.S.). He was then *faujdār* of Jamrūd in the Khaibar Pass.

[2] Here Manucci has not got the right story, which was much more romantic (see the 'Fatūḥāt-i-'Ālamgīrī,' by Ishar Dās, Nāgar, of Patan, a protégé of Shekh-ul-islām, son of Qāẓī 'Abd-ul-wahhāb; Rieu, 'Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts,' 269, and compare Tod, 'Rajasthan,' ii. 56, 57).

[3] The well-known Bārahpulah, or Bārahpalah, Bridge, which still stands in the position indicated.

as an opening to oppress the Hindūs still more, since they had no longer any valiant and powerful rajah who could defend them. He imposed on the Hindūs a poll-tax,[1] which everyone was forced to pay, some more, some less. Great merchants paid thirteen rupees and a half, the middle class six rupees and a quarter, and the poor three rupees and a half every year. This refers to men and not to women [183]; boys began to pay as soon as they had passed their fourteenth year. Aurangzeb did this for two reasons: first, because by this time his treasures had begun to shrink owing to expenditure on his campaigns; secondly, to force the Hindūs to become Mahomedans. Many who were unable to pay turned Mahomedans, to obtain relief from the insults of the collectors.

Annoyed at the flight of the rajahs, Aurangzeb took the field for a campaign against the famous Rānī, wife of Jaswant Singh, although that princess had sent to the king many letters inquiring the nature of his grievance. She represented to him the privileges conceded to them by all the previous Mogul kings. But with a powerful man it is no use to argue. Thus this princess was obliged to cede to Aurangzeb a province and the town of Mairtha. Thereupon the king withdrew, having thus repaid the benefits received from Rajah Jaswant Singh, who, if he had taken the side of Dārā when the troubles began, could have been of much hindrance to Aurangzeb in acquiring the sovereignty.[2]

After Aurangzeb had made peace with the Rānī, he retired to Āgrah to enjoy the palaces and gardens made by Shāhjahān, his father. But he did not repose for long; he had been born to trouble others and be troubled by them. Although he had quite as much as he could manage with Shivā Jī and the other two territories, Bījāpur and Gulkandah, he sallied forth in search of further warfare. It very nearly happened that he came to entire ruin through a great rising which followed the

[1] The *jizyah*. Elphinstone, 559, says it was imposed in 1677 (1088 H.)—that is, two years earlier. However, according to the 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 174, the correct year is 1090 H., twentieth year (1679-80), which agrees with Manucci.

[2] Manucci here forgets that Jaswant Singh did at the beginning take Dārā's, and not Aurangzeb's, side, as he has himself told us.

war with the Rānā which he entered upon. The beginning of this war was when Ibrāhīm Khān,[1] governor and viceroy of Kashmīr, in his anxiety to acquire glory, attempted and succeeded in an enterprise. It was as follows: On the confines of Kashmīr is the province of Tibet, which belongs to China, divided from Kashmīr by extremely high hills and chains of mountains. These are so steep that it is impossible to climb over or descend from them. But Nature taught a way of establishing friendship between the peoples, even though divided by such lofty walls. For the inhabitants carry out their intercourse with great fairness, those of the province of Tibet placing rope ladders for the descent, and when the business is over they remove these ladders. If they have no ladders, they let down their merchandise in a basket, and then carry on a conversation from the heights. In this way they conclude their bargains.

Ibrāhīm Khān managed to find out that the people of the town nearest the mountains were under the necessity of coming for a pilgrimage to another town [184]. Through the medium of some traders in that second town he arranged that the ladders should be left hanging on the mountains. On the appointed day he sent out his soldiers, who sacked the aforesaid city, carrying off much wealth, including some gilt images of great size. Upon the return of the soldiers, Ibrāhīm Khān ordered the said images to be sent on to Āgrah for presentation to the king. He wrote to His Majesty that he had taken the figures from the territories of China. Owing to their country being protected by inaccessible cliffs and rocks, he could not make war, but he had found a method of sending some infantry to plunder a town on a fitting opportunity. It was quite impossible to get horses over places where men had to climb by ropes. The figures arrived at Āgrah, and

[1] Ibrāhīm Khān, son of 'Alī Mardān Khān, Amīr-ul-Umarā. In the twenty-first year (1677-78) he replaced Quwām-ud-dīn Khān in Kashmīr. He was next transferred to Bengal, where he was replaced in the forty-first year (1697-98) by Prince Muḥammad 'Aẓīm. In the forty-fourth year (1700-1) he returned to Kashmīr; in the forty-sixth year (1702-3) he was removed to Aḥmadābād; in the first of Bahadur Shāh (1707-8) he was sent to Kābul. He died in Rabī' I., 1122 H. (April, 1710), aged eighty (while Governor of Kashmīr ?).

Aurangzeb was flattered at having viceroys zealous of his honour and eager to augment his glory. Then he had an attack of envy that his vassals were able to seize idols and destroy temples, while he, at the head of his great forces and professing such bigoted Mahomedanism, was unable to carry anything out against the head of the Hindūs—that is, the King Rānā—though this potentate lived in the very midst of his dominions.

Aurangzeb sends an Embassy to the Rānā, and declares War.

This was the reason, or at least one of the reasons, for which Aurangzeb determined to declare war against the said Rānā. In order that it might not seem that he was acting without cause, he sent him an embassy with such and such requests. It amounted to telling him that he had either to become a Mahomedan, or had to feel the strength of his (Aurangzeb's) spears, the sharp edge of his swords, the strong flight of his arrows, the hot fire of his artillery, and the consuming courage of his soldiers. The overtures were of this nature, and were sent through a *gurz-bardār* (a mace-bearer) carrying his golden mace, who intimated to the Rānā that the first demand was for his daughter in marriage to one of his (Aurangzeb's) sons. This is a thing the Rānā would never do, for although some rajahs gave their daughters as wives to the Mogul, they only did it because they were petty princes compared to the Rānā. If he had consented [185], he would have done great injury to his family.[1]

But this was a small thing in comparison with the next demand. This was that he should no longer coin money in his own name, but in that of Aurangzeb. This was the same thing as saying that the Rānā was not the king of his realm but a simple governor, since the money would be graven with Aurangzeb's name. The third thing he asked was one that

[1] A good account of this campaign against the Rānā of Udepur will be found in Tod, 'Rajasthan,' i. 351-360; the treaty is given in a note on p. 361. He refers to Orme's 'Historical Fragments,' p. 104, edition of 1782.

touched very closely the Hindū religion. He asked permission to kill cows within the Rānā's kingdom. Now, the Hindūs being great worshippers of cows, which they hold in the greatest estimation, this asking leave to kill cows was to the Hindūs as if he were to take away their religion.

As a further indication of his design to abolish Hindūism throughout his kingdom, he asked, in the fourth place, for the destruction of all temples and the erection of mosques in their stead. Finally, Aurangzeb, as a declaration of absolute sovereignty over the Rānā's kingdom, requested that the jurisdiction of the *qāẓī* should be acknowledged—that is, the law of the Qurān should be introduced. If the Rānā did not wish to consent to these things, let him abandon his kingdom. What harder conditions could one king demand from another as an excuse for declaring war than what Aurangzeb demanded from the Rānā?[1]

But although these Hindūs were very much afraid of the Moguls from what had happened in the invasion of Taimūr-i-lang, who with twelve thousand horsemen defeated the Rānā at the head of one hundred thousand, of which I spoke at the beginning of the Second Book of the First Part of my History (I. 60), still, even this did not persuade the Rānā to concede to Aurangzeb what he demanded. He replied to the following effect: As to the first request, it had never been the custom for the Rānā to give his daughters in marriage to the Mogul kings. He could not break the ancient rule of his predecessors, nor was it right that he should be the first to do this injury to his family. As for the second request, he replied that it was entirely opposed to the privileges conceded by all the Mogul kings from Mīr Shāh up to the present reign. It would suffice for Aurangzeb to read the chronicles of the great and famous kings of his own family to ascertain the truth of what was now said.

As to the third and fourth requests, the wisdom of His

[1] In the twenty-second year, 1090 H., a letter came from the Rānā (Rāj Singh), and his son, Kuṇwar Jai Singh, was presented in audience at Ajmer on the 29th Ṣafar (April 11, 1679). The *jizyah* (poll-tax) was imposed at this time. On the 18th Rabī' I. the Rānā's son left for his home. In the twenty-third year, 1090 H., Ẓu,l Ḥijjah (January, 1680), Ḥasan 'Alī Khān was sent against the Rānā ('M.-i-'Ā.,' 174, 175, 187).

Majesty should be judge whether a king could admit such demands, they being directly contrary to a religion which had lasted for so many centuries in Hindūstān. You might as well demand from the Rānā his head and the destruction of his kingdom [186] as demand the things asked for by His Majesty.

Here let me briefly inform Europeans that the Hindūs of Hindūstān are wedded to their religion for no other reason than that their ancestors observed it. Nor do they approve of its being said of their sons and grandsons that they have abandoned the customs of their old folk. Although this is reasoning unworthy of attention, still, it is so riveted into their heads, that it is impossible to convert them to any other religion, unless God endows them with powerful grace or it be done by force of arms. Otherwise they can never be made to change their religion. The padre Busée, of whom I have spoken (I. 259; II. 117), a man well acquainted with the people of India, used to say that the way to preach in Hindūstān, whether to the Mahomedans or to the Hindūs, was with a well-sharpened sword.[1]

As for Aurangzeb's last request, the Rānā answered that since he could not accept the third and the fourth, he attached less importance to the fifth, because every religion had its courts of justice conformable to its tenets. Then, in respect to the additional remark that if he were not willing to consent to these things he must quit his kingdom, his reply was that it had been acquired by his ancestors by just title; they had never interfered with anyone, and were ever contented with the much or little which their gods granted. All this His Majesty would easily understand, while he knew also that the Rānā could place in the field many soldiers whose valour had enabled him, long before Taimūr-i-lang descended into the plains of Hindūstān, to conquer many rajahs then existing in the Mogul country. All these words being the very truth itself, he earnestly entreated Aurangzeb to leave his kingdom in peace. There were many other kingdoms hostile to him, against whom he could give proof of his valour. The Rānā had never failed to maintain under his (Aurangzeb's) control and in his service seven

[1] Surely a very unchristian sentiment!

thousand cavalry. If he wished it, in order to conquer some other kingdom, he would send him even more men.

Aurangzeb knew quite well that the Rānā must reply in this style. Nevertheless, he meant to await the reply, and when it arrived he sent at once couriers to recall Prince Shāh 'Ālam from the Dakhin, with an order to make peace with Bījāpur and Gulkandah. Just as a father might pardon the fault of his little children, so must he deal with those kings, leaving behind nothing beyond a small force to resist Shivā Jī. To carry out this plan he sent Bahādur Khān to replace Shāh 'Ālam [187] and Diler Khān, in order that these last might march and arrive punctually at the positions where we were ordered to camp.

We encamped near a great lake called Rānā-sāgar[1]—that is to say, 'Made by the Rānā.' Its wall on one side is formed by the mountains; on the other side are stairs of handsome hewn stone. This lake was so large that it took more than eight hours to go round it, and I say this because I proved it myself with my horse. In the middle of the lake there are three large boats,[2] gilded and beautiful, which are anchored in the centre so that no one may get upon them, they being used by the Rānā for his amusement.

Other couriers had been sent to A'ẓam Tārā in Bengal, telling him to march with his army, and fixing the point at which he must invade the Rānā's territory. Diler Khān, as a veteran and experienced general, was directed to reinforce with his army that of the said prince. Aurangzeb also wrote to Akbar, who, after he had killed the rajah (Kishan Singh), had proceeded to Multān, that he must come with his forces, bringing also Tabercan (Tahavvar Khān).[3] For them also a place was fixed from which they were to attack the Rānā. Letters were also written to the governor of Gujarāt to join with all haste,

[1] On the 2nd Muḥarram, twenty-fourth year, 1092 H. (January 22, 1681), Aurangzeb received a report that Shāh 'Ālam had reached Rānā-sāgar (at Udepur). The word means 'Rānā's Lake.'

[2] *Pataxos* (*pataches*, or pinnaces).

[3] On the 25th Jamādā I., twenty-first year, 1089 H. (July 15, 1678), Akbar was appointed to Multān; on the 7th Ṣafar, twenty-second year, 1090 H. (March 8, 1679), he arrived at court. Tahavvar Khān was appointed *faujdār* of Ajmer in 1090 H. (1679) ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 166, 173).

and take up his position against the Rānā. Thus for this campaign Aurangzeb put in pledge the whole of his kingdom, and the people were astounded at the whole realm being turned upside down for a war against a king who did not want to fight, who only relied upon the rights of his forefathers, and at the same time intended only to defend himself against the Mogul, without undertaking the task of overthrowing him. This fact may be seen in the course of this account, and thereby the reader will understand how inflexible are these Hindūs in the preservation of the rules made by their mightier predecessors.

The scheme of the campaign having been worked out in the way stated, and the Rānā's territory encircled, Aurangzeb started from Āgrah in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-nine.[1] He took an army with him, and was firmly resolved to make himself master of the Rānā's kingdom. He advanced as far as Ajmer, where he halted, and thence sent out fitting orders to his generals for fighting valiantly, and invading that kingdom with vigour. He also invaded it on his side, sparing neither time nor fatigues. When the Rānā heard that Aurangzeb was advancing with a great army, he sent orders into the provinces situated beneath the mountains for all the inhabitants [188] to move into the hills and abandon their houses. In addition, the Rānā ordered that the royal abodes should be left carpeted. Nor did he omit to send messages to Aurangzeb, begging him as a favour not to penetrate farther. But Aurangzeb, instead of moderating his ire and ambition on finding that the Rānā dealt with him so courteously, even leaving his rooms with their carpets spread, assumed that this

[1] The start was made from Dihlī, not Āgrah. The following are the dates of Aurangzeb's movements: On the 7th Sha'bān, twenty-second year, 1090 H. (September 13, 1679), his tents went out to Pālam; on the 29th (October 5) he camped at the Ānā-sāgar outside Ajmer. On the 7th Ẕu,l Qa'dah (December 10) he left Ajmer for Udepur; on the way, at Deorānī, Prince Akbar arrived from Mairthā. On the 15th Ẕu,l Ḥijjah (January 17, 1680) there was a march from Māndal, and camp was pitched at the pass of Dahbārī; the Rānā had fled from Udepur. On the 2nd Muḥarram, 1091 H. (February 3, 1680), Aurangzeb visited the Rānā-sāgar, and on the 1st Ṣafar (March 4) Chitor. On the 14th Ṣafar (March 14, 1680) he began his return march to Ajmer ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 180-190).

was done from fear. He did all the injury to the Rānā that he could—sent out orders to knock down and make ruins of every temple, and to kill cows in them.[1] As a farther aggravation, finding himself by chance in a palace where there were statues of the ancient Rānās, and of the reigning one with his wives and their ladies, he, out of contempt, ordered them all to be broken to pieces. But the Rānā proved to him one day how easily he could destroy him, and yet how much he desired his friendship.

With this design the Rānā barred the roads in such a way that the Moguls, being now surrounded by mountains, could find no exit, nor knew they where to pass; for the roads are provided with labyrinths, and none but the natives know the right road. Aurangzeb was amazed at finding himself by one stroke thus encircled, unable to move either forward or backward. He knew likewise that if the Rānā up to that time had made no movement against his person, it was not because he could not, but because he would not. Still more was he alarmed when he found that his beloved Udepurī put in no appearance; nor was there the slightest news of her. Neither was there word of any supplies. The Rānā, to show that he did not want to fight, sent him supplies from his own country. He allowed him to suffer hunger for one day, so that hunger might inspire him with good sense. Thus Aurangzeb, as well as his army, had to content himself with a little *kichrī*—that is, rice and lentils cooked with a little butter.

Then in the evening the Rānā sent in the Mogul's wife (Udepurī Begam), in the company of his soldiers, again begging him as a favour to withdraw and leave his kingdom in peace, and made the excuse that his soldiers had stopped the roads without his orders. This would have been enough to pacify the most barbarous of kings, enraged by some great insult or another which he had received; while, on the contrary, this was a king unjustly assailed who yet granted life to his enemy,

[1] Three temples on the bank of the Rānā-sāgar were destroyed. Hasan 'Ali Khān reported the destruction of 173 temples in Udepur town and neighbourhood. At Chitor sixty-three temples were knocked down by the Emperor's order ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 188, 189).

when he could have killed him with impunity. But not for such courtesies would Aurangzeb refrain from his fixed purpose; on the contrary, he sent order upon order to his sons [189] and generals to penetrate farther and farther. He himself withdrew to Ajmer, so as not to incur again any evil fortune. Leaving himself with no more than two thousand men, made up of household slaves and clerks, he divided up his forces and sent them to all four quarters with orders to invade without hesitation. But his sons and generals, more prudent than Aurangzeb himself, perpetually made excuses, for they knew how easy it is to get into a labyrinth, yet how difficult to follow it up to the appointed limit, and then return by the same route. They knew the mishap that had happened to the king himself. Yet he, in his over-boldness, would not agree to desist from the enterprise, and insisted on carrying all before him.

Aurangzeb deserved to have had Paṭhāns to deal with in those mountain ranges, and of a certainty they would never have sacrificed such a good chance for cutting off the head of him who had decapitated his own brothers. But the Rānā was more concerned in following the rules of his foregoers than in defending himself; thus, though not afraid of the Mogul, he did not care to take well-deserved vengeance for the harm done to him by Aurangzeb. In order to relieve himself of the obligation of doing more, he worked to get up a mutiny in the army of Aurangzeb.

It is necessary to state how the adventurous Mogul proved that he did not mean to give up his enterprise of conquering the kingdom of the Rānā. Whilst he was in Ajmer he ordered the fortress of Chitor to be put in order and garrisoned. I spoke of it in the history of Akbar in the Second Book of my First Part (I. 82). Yet, as I said there, one of the conditions of peace between Akbar and the Rānā was that both of them should relinquish the said fortress of Chitor, a stone being placed on the gateway of that fortress, on which were cut these words: 'Neither I nor you for evermore.' Thus Aurangzeb was not constant in following the rules of his fathers—at any rate, not in those things where he found his advantage. Therefore he ordered the said fortress to be garrisoned, and commanded

the destruction of the pillar that the famed Padmanī had caused to be erected in the fortress, bearing a graven stone stating you should never place faith in Moguls [190].

Prince Akbar Rebels.

Seeing how much Aurangzeb was willing to risk in order to master his kingdom, the Rānā, equally persistent not to attack Aurangzeb, resolved to arrange matters so that the Mogul's own sons should make war against such an unjust father. He found out that Akbar,[1] although the youngest of all, was the boldest and most turbulent, as he had shown when quite small. To him (Akbar) selected persons were sent into the very camp of Aurangzeb. These men counselled him not to lose this chance of becoming king. If he did not act now, when his father was without his men and all the other princes were in the Rānā's territory, at a much greater distance from his father than he was, it would not be easy a second time to capture the crown. He embraced this advice, being liked by his officers and soldiers, and began his march for the seizure and beheadal of his father.

Spies came to Shāh 'Ālam about this rebellion, but he would not put trust in them, or at any rate appeared not to attach credit to them. For, it being a matter of great importance, he would be obliged to inform his father, and he feared to write such matters to Aurangzeb, who from his love for Akbar would not believe his (Shāh 'Ālam's) letters. On the contrary, he would suspect that Shāh 'Ālam wrote them in order to carry out some plot of his own. Nevertheless, as such news was very important, he sent for his generals and captains, and in their presence caused the exact words of the spy to be written down. The man said that a commotion would arise, that Akbar had already publicly declared himself king, and with the intention of arresting his father had already begun his march. The generals and captains signed at the foot of the spy's statement. Thus the news was sent at once by Shāh 'Ālam to Aurangzeb. The latter, for the love he bore to his other son, would not

[1] For a much better account of Akbar's rebellion, see Khāfī Khān, ii. 261-270; Elliot and Dowson, vii. 298-304. Akbar's flight was reported to Aurangzeb on the 26th Ẕu,l Ḥijjah, 1091 H. (January 18, 1681), ('Ma,āṣir-i-Ālamgīrī,' 197).

believe Shāh 'Ālam's letter, and said they were mendacious tales and the rebellion non-existent.

But on the same day came in news from Akbar's own camp that he had in reality rebelled, and was advancing energetically with thirty thousand Rājpūts belonging to the Rānī, the widow of Rajah Jaswant Singh, commanded by two famous leaders, Durgā Dās and Sonoegi (Soning),[1] besides the other troops that he had. Aurangzeb was thrown into great anxiety, and he arranged to put into a state of defence the house [191] he occupied, which stood upon a great lake. He refused to shut himself up in the fortress; he distributed among the few men he had the charge of the windows and doors, enjoining great vigilance. He saw the time arrive for appreciating the saying, 'Per que quis peccat, per hœc et plectetur'; what he did he received, and he had to pay the penalty for what he had done to his father. But he sought every mode to evade that issue, and he fortified as well as he could the house, posting round it field-pieces, swivel-guns, and matchlock men.

He sent letters to Shāh 'Ālam, A'ẓam Tārā, and other generals to reinforce him at once with the greatest haste. From this reason we turned right-about-face and came to rejoin Aurangzeb, who had already left Ajmer, and pitched his camp in the same place[2] where Dārā was encountered at the second battle. We reached the spot three hours before the arrival of the rebel prince. Aurangzeb, before he marched, had also written to Akbar, and told him that he had heard false reports about his loyalty, and how evil-designing people had written that he had rebelled against his father, one who held him dearer than his soul. He longed to know the truth. If it were the fact that he had rebelled, he asked him the cause of his rebellion. Let him remember that it was not a right thing for a beloved son to

[1] I take 'Sonoegi' to be Tod's 'Soning,' which he uses on p. 60, vol. ii., 'Rajasthan,' as if it were an epithet of Durgā Dās. Soning was, however, a separate man, as his sudden death on August 26, 1681, is lamented (*ibid.*, p. 63), while Durgā Dās survived long beyond this time. In the 'Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' ii. 873, the name is spelt 'Sonig.' The lake referred to would be the Ānā-sāgar at Ajmer, which still exists.

[2] The 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 200, says he moved out on the 5th Muḥarram (January 25, 1681) to the village of Dobārah, thirty-five *jarībs* distant.

rebel, above all at a time when the father, for the glory of his sons, was busy with a grand enterprise. He admonished him that he ought now, at such a time, to abate his ardour and not throw the realm into disorder. Let him keep quiet at present, and allow progress against the Rānā to be continued. At a fitting time he would let him see how much he loved him.

Akbar received the letter and demonstrated, even more clearly than was necessary, what were his intentions. For he wrote boldly to his father that he had really rebelled, that it was with firm resolve to fight that he had come forth from the mountain abysses. The cause of his revolt was the same that his father had himself taught him, for had he not risen against his father? The whole realm was by this time tired at seeing his tyrannical acts, more especially the abrogation of the rights and privileges that his far-off ancestors had conceded to different persons in Hindūstān. Therefore let him prepare for battle and mount his horse, for he was coming straight to fight him personally.

On hearing this message, Aurangzeb began to be still more disquieted [192]. It was not so much his son that he feared, but the thirty thousand Rājpūt horsemen. He knew their object was to take vengeance, this being a good opening, for the insult done to their Rānī and the sons of Jaswant Singh. Still, to show that he was not afraid, he wrote to Akbar to come on, and he would await him on horseback. For this purpose he ordered a long steel spike to be made and affixed to the head of a fine horse that he possessed.

When our armies became aware of this news there was great uproar; those who were acquainted with Akbar's vigour and the small force round Aurangzeb began at once to deliberate whether they should not desert to Akbar's side, as that of the more powerful protagonist. I know myself that Shāh 'Ālam was thrown into considerable anxiety by this outbreak. Akbar's mistake was not to carry through his project. If he had only learnt from his father, along with the lesson of rebellion, that also of energy and of not losing time, it is certain that he would have made himself king, Aurangzeb having no men to defend himself. But as Aurangzeb had in Akbar's division men who

loved him, he found means to make the astrologers order Akbar to wait some days before marching. The time was occupied in making thrones and preparing supplies for the coronation festival. This they did to give Aurangzeb time to gather men for his defence.

At this time Aurangzeb wrote a letter and made it over to the Master of the Horse, a big, tall man who attended the king when he rode out. It was this man himself who told me the story. He was directed to place the said letter between two tombs, and remain there on the alert to notice if during the night the tombs made any movement, as if striking each other. He put the letter between the two tombs, but saw no movement whatever the whole night through. Reporting this to the king, Aurangzeb declared that Akbar would never come to meet him with his army. All the same, he did not slacken his efforts, sending a flying camp on ahead to watch the movements of Akbar's force.

Some men came and said to the king that the vanguard of Akbar was advancing with such determination that they were too few to resist their fury and impetus. From this cause Aurangzeb, although still relying upon the sorcery, had already given himself up for lost [193], not having yet sufficient men, although more were coming in hour by hour. It was the period of the short rainy season in those regions—that is to say, it was the month of January one thousand six hundred and eighty-one.[1] The rain and the wind gave us enough to suffer from, coupled with the mud and mire of the roads. All the same, we arrived (as I have said) (*ante*, II. 191) three hours before the appearance of Akbar and his army, although we had been much farther off than Akbar had been; and he took four days in coming to execute his project, when he could have done it in two, at which time Aurangzeb was without soldiers and without strength. It looked as if the heavens wished to announce this rebellion, for on the vespers of the Nativity (December 24) of one thousand six hundred and eighty there appeared a large comet with a tail. It was at the time that we were encamped near the tank of which I spoke (Rānā-sāgar, *ante*, II. 187). From

[1] This date fits in with the Indian histories, and is probably correct.

this occurrence (the comet) our camp became perturbed and concerned, not knowing what was about to happen.

Although we had joined him, Aurangzeb did not yet count himself safe, being in great dread of the Rājpūts. He therefore resorted to his usual devices. Learning that on the next day battle would be offered, he wrote a letter to Akbar. In it he said that he had always found him to be an obedient son, above all was he so in this pretence at a revolt, but it was now necessary to complete the operation with the same dutifulness. Let him remember to post the Rājpūts in the vanguard, and then during the battle he should carry out his part in their rear, slaying as many as he could. Aurangzeb and his army would kill all the others, and thus would he execute the wished-for vengeance on the Rājpūts, and destroy them all. He wrote thus because he knew that the Rājpūts of themselves had offered to fight in the vanguard, and when they intercepted the letter they would suspect Akbar and leave him. This came to pass; for the Rājpūts, getting hold of the letter, feared they had been betrayed. Forthwith, without any warning to Akbar, they took to flight.

Akbar rose at midnight to make ready for the great attempt, when it was already too late to begin. Supposing the Rājpūts to be still in their due place, he found instead the camp evacuated, for the rest of his army had also fled, leaving him with only a few soldiers. The prince fell into profound dejection [194] at finding himself abandoned, and felt unable to decide what ought to be done. Tahavvar Khān, who was in the king's service, seeing that the cause was lost, now staked his life on making Akbar king. He said to the prince that, since they had not men enough, the rebellion could not be carried to completion. Let him wait where he was with the few men he had left, while he went to assassinate the king.[1]

In pursuance of this design he entered the royal camp, clad all

[1] Jān Beg, Harawī, entitled, first, Tahavvar Khān, then Bādshāh Qulī Khān, one of 'Ālamgīr's great nobles, joined Prince Akbar during his revolt, and, coming to the Presence with an evil intent on the night of the 6th (*i.e.*, 5th) Muḥarram, 1092 H. (January 24, 1681, N.S.), was killed (see 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 201; 'Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' i. 447; and 'Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī, 1092).

in mail, telling the sentries who challenged him that he was Tahavvar Khān, and, being a known man, he was allowed to pass without difficulty. During a storm of rain and wind he arrived close to the royal tent. If he had found entrance then, he and his companions could have killed the king and Shāh 'Ālam and his sons, who were quite unprotected, the rain and the cold having made the soldiers retire into their tents. At this time the guard on the royal tent consisted of only a door-keeper or two. Luṭfullah Khān,[1] son of Sa'dullah Khān, who commanded the guard, was inside the entrance to the tent. He challenged the traitor and asked who he was, and the intruder responded freely that he was Tahavvar Khān, feeling confident that, being of the king's service, he would be sure to let him pass in without hindrance. But Luṭfullah Khān made him wait till he had carried a message to His Majesty. He was given permission to enter on condition of giving up his arms. On hearing this message from Luṭfullah Khān, Tahavvar Khān said that he could not give up the sword that this very king had attached to his side. Upon this Luṭfullah Khān said he should never enter unless he left his sword, and there was between them some exchange of words. Men collected to hear the cause of dispute, and his blood getting heated, Tahavvar Khān laid hold of his sword to force his way in. But Luṭfullah Khān and the others also seized their weapons, and a fight began. Tahavvar Khān, being clad in mail, made no account of them. In a few moments the king heard the disturbance, and shouted out orders to kill the intruder. Trying to escape, Tahavvar Khān became entangled in the horses' heel-ropes and the tent-ropes, and fell to the ground. The others cut off his head. When they told the king that Tahavvar Khān was dead, he issued orders to bury him at the entrance of the tent door. Thus died Tahavvar Khān in trying to make a king of Akbar.

The latter, when he heard of Tahavvar Khān's death, went into his tents, broke open his boxes of jewels and of [195] gold coin, and, disguising his women in men's attire, fled again into the Rājpūt territory. When the day dawned he met the

[1] For Luṭfullah Khān, see 'Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' iii. 171. He died on the 18th Sha'bān, 1114 H. (January 7, 1703).

Rājpūt captains and generals. By the time they had learnt the reason of his flight, and the deception played off on them by Aurangzeb, there was no longer any remedy either for the death of Tahavvar Khān or for the abortive result of their project. The sun rose, and it seemed as if heaven meant to congratulate Aurangzeb on having escaped from the net that his son had spread for him. Men were to be seen going and coming from Akbar's camp with their clothes and chattels. Others were arriving to demand pardon from Aurangzeb for what they had tried to do. They made excuse that they could not have done less, for if they had refused, Akbar would certainly have cut off their heads; and they had taken advantage of the darkness to flee from a son who had rebelled against his own father. But Aurangzeb's only reward for these good excuses was to send them prisoners to the fortress of Gwāliyār.

Shāh 'Ālam marches against Akbar.

Aurangzeb, who never allowed delay in matters of importance, upon being told that Akbar had fled, gave orders the same day to Shāh 'Ālam to pursue until he had seized him.[1] Shāh 'Ālam replied that on his part he would do what was possible to capture him; but as Akbar was a man of resolution, it might be that he would turn to give battle. In the battle he might be killed. He therefore prayed His Majesty that if such an unwished-for event resulted, he should not be blamed. Aurangzeb answered that even if Akbar were killed, it would be well, for a rebellious son is unworthy to live.

Thus we issued from the royal camp with a considerable force, and we had to suffer enough from the recent rains. We were also worn out by the haste we had made in coming from the Rānā's country to reinforce Aurangzeb. Now we marched out in search of Akbar, who fled through the lands of the Rājpūts, and kept us running in one direction, and then in another, up to the end of March (1681). During this time Shāh 'Ālam, who had learnt the lesson from his father, wrote letter after

[1] Akbar's flight took place in the night between the 5th and 6th Muḥarram, 1092 H. (January 24-25, 1681). Shāh 'Ālam was sent in pursuit on January 26, 1681 ('Ma‚āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 202, 203).

letter to Akbar telling him to surrender, and he would find a way to procure their father's pardon. Akbar, who by this time knew Aurangzeb tolerably well [196], although he had no faith in him pretended to believe. He wrote to Shāh 'Ālam that very willingly would he come in, but having incurred some debts, he was in need of four thousand gold coins. Having paid his debts, he would, without fail, come and place himself under his brother's protection and pledged word.

Shāh 'Ālam, who imagined his brother to be speaking the truth, sent him the four thousand coins, which were used to pay the Rājpūts. Akbar then made for the Dakhin, there to throw himself upon Shivā Jī's (*i.e.*, the Mahrattahs') protection. We were unable to pursue him over the impassable roads of those mountain ranges. In this negotiation between Shāh 'Ālam and Akbar, Kanealam (K͟hān 'Ālām), son of Nazabatcan (Najābat K͟hān), a very fat man, who was a partisan of Akbar, wrote a letter to Shāh 'Ālam that if he were willing to pledge his word to protect him, he would quit Akbar and desert to his (Shāh 'Ālam's) side. Shāh 'Ālam pledged his word, and K͟hān 'Ālam came and put himself in the hands of Shāh 'Ālam, and he was sent to court with a recommendation. But Aurangzeb, who did not pardon sons, was not likely to pardon K͟hān 'Ālam. As soon as the man arrived he ordered him to be built up in a room, leaving only a small aperture through which they gave him poisoned food, and he was forced to do there the offices of nature, and there he died.

On this occasion Shāh 'Ālam wrote that Akbar had now escaped. The king had spies who informed him of everything that happened, and he replied that before he (Shāh 'Ālam) had thought of writing, he had already received news of Akbar's flight; and as he (Shāh 'Ālam) was doing no good, he must come back to headquarters. Thus we retraced our steps by the orders of Aurangzeb. He saw that Akbar's revolt had thrown the kingdom into confusion; he therefore wrote to all his governors and viceroys with orders to beat the kettledrums and hold festivals, to let the people know that he had gained the victory over his rebel son Akbar. During this time the defeated prince fled hither and thither. In spite of all the

efforts to seize or kill him, there were no results, for by this time Akbar had found refuge in the country of Sambhā Jī, who made it his pride to have within his territories a son of his deadly enemy [197].[1]

Aurangzeb makes Peace with the Rānā.

Despairing of success in his attempt to conquer the Rānā's country, owing to the difficulty of making his way into it, and finding that Akbar had beaten a retreat to the territories of Sambhā Jī, Aurangzeb became desirous of concluding a peace with the Rānā, for which that ruler had several times made overtures. Aurangzeb was now eager to strengthen his position in the Dakhin, fearing that Akbar would lose neither time nor opportunity in making himself formidable with the aid of Sambhā Jī. Thus in the very same region where he (Aurangzeb) began his contest for the throne, Akbar would acquire power, wealth, and soldiers. The chief difficulty was, however, to make a peace with the Rānā, for Aurangzeb could not make overtures without loss of honour. He also feared that the Rānā and the nobles in his kingdom, as also his own officers, among whom were some friendly to the Rānā, might mock at him for having refused the proffered peace, which he was now himself compelled to sue for. For these reasons he directed Diler Khān to undertake the office of mediator between him and the Rānā, and conclude a peace.[2]

Diler Khān wrote to the Rānā saying that, looking to the long-established friendship between the Rājpūt realm and that of the Moguls, considering also the chivalry with which the Rānā treated his enemies in time of war, there were signs that His Majesty the Rānā had no desire for further war. The writer had therefore undertaken to mediate and arrange a peace between him and King Aurangzeb, his master, if His

[1] Khān Jahān (Bahādur Khān) reported that on the 7th Jamādā I., 1092 H. (May 25, 1681), Akbar, passing near Burhānpur, had entered Sambhā Jī's territory ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 205, last line).

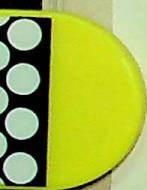
[2] R. Orme, 'Historical Fragments,' p. 106, edition of 1805. Tod, 'Rajasthan,' i. 360, mentions that Diler Khān made use of a Rājpūt officer (Shyām Singh, of Bīkāner). He also gives the terms of the agreement or treaty (i. 361, note *a*).

Majesty (the Rānā) should so desire. The Rānā saw quite clearly that this was mere policy on the part of Aurangzeb, who was in want of peace, and he therefore dissimulated, in order to convince Aurangzeb that he was under no necessity to make terms. He therefore replied to Diler Khān in a dilatory strain, excusing himself from discussing peace terms, as he had other business on hand within his territories. Diler Khān, by order of Aurangzeb, persisted in talking of a peace, and sent letter after letter to the Rānā; now detailing [the Mogul] strength and valour; now stating that his forefathers [the Rānā's] had never wished to make war upon the Mogul; now threatening a farther advance, talking of setting fire to everything found on the way; now pointing out to him how he would confer a great favour on the Mogul by consenting to a peace [198] at a time when he was so embarrassed by the rising of his son. But the Rānā, although desirous of peace and escape from further warfare, gave various excuses, such as that he was quite willing, but being in ill-health, he could not apply his mind to such an important affair as making a solid and durable peace with the Mogul.

In this manner he kept Aurangzeb in expectation, and the delay was very heavy to bear. For, meanwhile, his son Akbar and Sambhā Jī were far from wasting their time. These negotiations went on for some five months, and in the end the Rānā sent his brother to the court to complete the treaty of peace.[1] He was received with great honour; and, in truth, being the brother of a powerful king, such honour was politic on Aurangzeb's part, in order to facilitate the negotiations. Peace was made; nor were there any new provisions, beyond the grant by Aurangzeb to the Rānā of a province which formerly belonged to his state, but had been ceded by his ancestors to the Mogul. The Rānā's ancient privileges were confirmed. In addition thereto the Rānā was under obligation, as I have said (II. 187), to keep seven thousand horseman in the Mogul

[1] This must be Bhīm Singh, brother of Rānā Jai Singh, of whom Tod tells a romantic tale of renunciation (i. 364). Bhīm Singh was received by Aurangzeb on the 13th Sha'bān, 1092 H. (August 28, 1681) ('M.-i-'Ā.,' 212). The negotiator (Tod, 360, note) is said to have been Sūr Singh, uncle of the Rānā.

XIX. Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn, Eldest Son of Shāh 'Ālam.

To face page 252.

service at his own expense. But these men had a bad name, and committed great oppression in the Mogul country; no one dared to interfere with them; they stole, buffeted, and slew, without anyone being able to question their acts. Aurangzeb therefore judged it to be of greater profit to the Moguls to dismiss instead of retaining such people. But not desiring to prejudice the rights he had over the Rānā, he contrived that the Rānā should undertake to give every year the necessary money for the pay of that number of soldiers, but should send no more horsemen. Thus the Rānā's brother had his audience of leave-taking, and Aurangzeb was satisfied at having secured peace with a king who had spared his life once, and would be able to do him still greater harm by merely delaying to make peace.

During the time that these things were going on, it happened that Mīrzā Kūchak, of whom I spoke during my stay in Iṣfahān (I. 28), who had been expatriated, came to ask assistance from Aurangzeb.[1] He gave this man various appointments, and in the end made him viceroy of Lāhor. At this time it was reported to the viceroy that the *qāẓī* had killed two Hindū women in his house, and had [199] buried them in a pond. The governor, being zealous to see justice done, ordered the *koṭwāl* to institute a search in the *qāẓī's* house and discover the truth. But the *qāẓī* would not allow the *koṭwāl* into his house, not wanting to be prejudiced, and took arms in his own defence. The stiff-neckedness of the *qāẓī* having been reported to Mīrzā Kūchak, he directed an entry by force, and if necessary they

[1] In the seventeenth year, 1084 H. (1673-74), Quwām-ud-dīn Khān, Iṣfahānī, *Ṣadr* of Īrān, and brother of Khalīfah-i-Sulṭān, the *wazīr*, appeared in India, and was made 3,000, 1,500 horse. In 1085 H. (1674-75) he was promoted; in the nineteenth year, 1087 H. (1675-76), he was appointed Governor of Kashmīr. After his return to court in the twenty-first year, 1088 H. (1677-78), he was appointed to Lāhor, 1089 H. (end of 1678). In the twenty-third year, 1091 H. (1679-80), 'Alī Akbar, the *qāẓī* of Lāhor, having been killed, the governor and the *koṭwāl* were removed. Quwām-ud-dīn appeared before Aurangzeb at Ajmer, and was so tortured in the ecclesiastical court that the deceased's son withdrew his claim for retaliation, the accused being an old man. He died of shame about the 18th Ẕu,l Qa'dah of the same year, 1091 H. (December 11, 1680) ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 130, 139, 151, 163, 166, 188, 195; 'Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī,' 1091; 'Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' iii. 109-115; Khāfī Khān, ii. 256, but wrong year).

were to fight. If anyone were killed, he would accept the responsibility.

Off went the *kotwāl* and fought with such vigour that the *qāẓī*, too, fell along with the other dead. Thereupon the learned men assembled and wrote to the king about this mournful event, and said that never had it been heard of in Hindūstān that anyone had ventured to put forth a hand upon the sacred person of a *qāẓī*. None but a Persian would be guilty of such a deed, for, being of a different faith, he made no account of persons who professed and taught the true religion. Upon receiving this petition, Aurangzeb removed Mīrzā Kūchak and ordered him to court. Hardly had he arrived when he resorted to the royal presence. Aurangzeb, a subtle Mahomedan, said to him that he would have to talk to him about the *qāẓī's* case. Mīrzā Kūchak understood, and was well aware that if the *qāẓī's* case was in issue, he would die subjected to great shame and affronts. Therefore, leaving for his house, he took poison and died. This was the end of the man who pronounced the sentence that for a Mahomedan who killed a Christian it was sufficient punishment to make a slight cut on the end of the little finger until he had lost three drops of blood, and make him pay ten *patacas*.[1]

Aurangzeb was determined, on various pretexts, to pursue Akbar, but foresight induced him to consider what might happen. He was afraid that the King of Persia might seize the opportunity to make some attack on the kingdom; therefore Mirzā Baffa (? Wafā),[2] grandson of the Sahedcan Bahadur (Sa'īd Khān Bahādur), of whom I spoke in Shāhjahān's reign (I. 145), was sent as ambassador in ordinary or resident to the King of Balkh. If there should be any movement of the Persians against the Mogul kingdom, he (the King of Balkh) was to take the field against them, and Aurangzeb would not only pay all the expenses, but give him a reward.

[1] A *pataca* is said elsewhere to be equal to two rupees.

[2] On the 25th Rabī' II., 1096 H., twenty-eighth year (April 1, 1685), Wafadār Khān, grandson of Sa'īd Khān, Bahādur, was made Zabardast Khān, and sent to guard the frontier of Balkh. He carried presents for Subḥān Qulī Khān, the ruler ('M.-i-'Ā.,' 255). For Sa'īd Khān, Bahādur, Ẓafar Jang, who died 1062 H., see 'Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' ii. 429-437.

The King of Balkh, in order to preserve the friendship of Aurangzeb, and attracted by the hope of lucre, accepted the proposal made to him by Aurangzeb [200].

As soon as the peace negotiations with the Rānā were completed, Aurangzeb left Ajmer early in September of the year one thousand six hundred and eighty-one.[1] His object now was a war against Sambhā Jī, all unmindful of his fate—namely, that this departure was for ever, that there would be no return for him either to Āgrah or to Dihlī; for it is now nineteen years [*i.e.*, in 1700] that he has been in camp without effecting anything against that rebellious people, the Mahrattahs. God only knows what will come to pass in the end! For the reports continually brought in to me are that he is in a very bad way, closely pressed by the aforesaid Mahrattahs. Thus until this day he has not been able to accomplish the enterprise he intended (as he said) to finish in two years. He marched, carrying with him his three sons, Shāh 'Ālam, A'ẕam Tārā, and Kām Bakhsh, also his grandsons. He had with him much treasure, which came to an end so thoroughly during this war that he was compelled to open the treasure-houses of Akbar, Nūr Jāhān, Jahāngīr, and Shāhjahān. Besides this, finding himself with very little cash, owing to the immense expenditure forced upon him, and because the revenue-payers did not pay with the usual promptitude, he was obliged at Aurangābād to melt down all his household silver ware. In addition to all this, he wanted to empty the great store-houses filled with goods left by deceased persons, or with property collected in Akbar, Jahāngīr, and Shāhjahān's time from the men, great or small, who had been servants of the State. But afterwards he ordered these store-houses not to be opened, for he rightly feared that, he being absent, the officials would embezzle more than the half.

Death of Begam Ṣāhib.

But let us begin to recount the royal march. The women also moved with us, except Begam Ṣāḥib or Pādshāh Begam,

[1] Aurangzeb started from Ajmer on the 2nd Ramaẓān, 1092 H. (September 15, 1681, N.S.) ('M.-i-'Ā.,' 212).

who, being now old, had desired to remain in Āgrah. During this march to the Dakhin we heard that she had ended her life,[1] fulfilling her own prophecy. For before Aurangzeb left Āgrah this princess tried to prevent the king beginning hostilities against the Rānā. She told him the undertaking was very difficult, almost impossible, and that it was very probable they would never meet again, as [201] turned out to be the case. At the time of her death this princess divided her property and jewels among her nieces, leaving to each a good deal of money and jewels. Nor did she overlook her beloved Jānī Begam, to whom she bequeathed her finest jewels and a greater share of money. Upon this news reaching the camp, we halted for three days by the wish of Aurangzeb, who showed himself touched by the death of a princess of good ability, who, although she had her faults, left behind her, on the whole, the name and fame of a wise woman.

On hearing of Aurangzeb's approach to the Dakhin, Sambhā Jī did not desist from his usual plundering expeditions in all directions. This was meant to show what little fear he had of that great army. Before we reached Burhānpur he sacked a large village four leagues distant from the royal camp. Shāh 'Ālam was quite pleased, for Aurangzeb had withdrawn him from the Dakhin, after reproving him for allowing Shivā Jī during his government to get so close to him. Thus now Shāh 'Ālam rejoiced to see that Sambhā Jī made no account of his father; on the contrary, he plundered quite close to his encampment.

Angered at the temerity of Sambhā Jī, Aurangzeb marched with the greatest haste to Aurangābād in order to distribute his army in different positions, and see if he could not capture Sambhā Jī, and draw forth this thorn which was giving him so much annoyance. We arrived at Aurangābād, and here the king fixed his court. He kept with him his sons and grandsons, and sent out generals in different directions to invade the territories of Shivā Jī (the Mahrattahs). During this time the latter was ravaging the Dakhin. Some detachments he allowed to penetrate his territories, and there destroyed

[1] She died on the 3rd Ramaẓān, 1092 H. (September 16, 1681) ('Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī').

them by throwing poison into the water or closing the routes. He thus caused great losses in Aurangzeb's armies. The king did not know what course to adopt to impede Sambhā Jī's assaults and conquer his lands. Assuming that his best plan would be to conquer the kingdom of Bījāpur, he once more declared war against that king. Looking on him as a child, on one hand he made war against him, and on the other wrote him friendly letters.

The general sent against Bījāpur was Diler Khān, who did his duty as a good soldier [202]. But Shāh 'Ālam had a grievance against him for his refusal to sign the paper of the feigned rebellion (II. 124), also for his not treating him (the prince) with sufficient respect. A splendid opening had now been found by Shāh 'Ālam for ending the life of this famous commander, and he caused poison to be administered to him whilst he was conducting the campaign against Bījāpur.[1] Aurangzeb was grieved at the death of so great and so faithful a general, for whom he had considerable affection, in spite of his being a Paṭhān. It is the rule in the Mogul realm not to trust that race.

The unhappy Bījāpur ruler, in addition to an invasion from Auraṅgzeb's army, found himself attacked by Sambhā Jī, who at this time took from him some fortresses, and was thus ever strengthening himself against the Mogul.

It happened just then that some of Sambhā Jī's officers quarrelled with him because he continued to interfere with other men's wives.[2] They signed a treasonable letter against their prince, in which they promised to join Prince Akbar, to whom the letter was sent. The latter was eager enough to make use of such a good opportunity, but he would not act without the advice of the [Rāṭhor] leader Durgā Dās, to whom he confided the secret. Durgā Dās counselled him not to rely on such a letter, and said it was possible that Sambhā Jī was himself the originator of this fiction, in order to see

[1] Jalāl, entitled Diler Khān, son of Daryā Khān, Rohelah, Dā,ūdzai, died at the end of 1094 H. (about December, 1683) in Aurangābād ('Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī'). For his biography, see 'Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' ii. 42-56.

[2] Grant-Duff, 155, speaks of Sambhā Jī's profligacy.

whether he (Akbar) would countenance such a rebellion, or was in reality a prince grateful for the many favours done to him. The safe course would be to confide the said letter to Sambhā Jī himself, and prove to him the fidelity and gratitude felt towards him.

Sambhā Jī received the letter, and since the writing was genuine and also treasonable, he forthwith ordered those officers to be beheaded. He returned thanks to Akbar for his good faith, and assured him that he would always continue to favour his cause. By this time the prince had repented of not having seized the occasion, but now it was too late. It is incumbent on me to state that Sambhā Jī's victories were not the fruit of his own valour, but were due to his officers. He was much more inclined to spend his time with women, amusement, and wine, than to take the field and emulate the example of valour and untiring exertion bequeathed him by his father [203].

Aurangzeb heard of the plot that the officers of Sambhā Jī wished to carry out, and of Akbar's refusal of such a good opportunity. He feared that, owing to Sambhā Jī's irregular life, those men might a second time propose to make Akbar their prince, that he might then accept, and be able then to come against him (Aurangzeb) with a strong army. He therefore sent endearing letters to Akbar, pressing him to return; he knew well (he said) that the rebellion the prince had headed during the campaign against the Rānā was not his own doing, but the work of his officers. He could now return with confidence, and he would be pardoned. Aurangzeb pledged his word, backed by an oath on the Qurān, that no harm would be done to him. Letters went back and fore, but Akbar knew his father, and was not such a fool as to trust himself to the hands of one who had already murdered one son. But he wrote such humble and submissive letters that Aurangzeb dispatched his tutor to him, and a considerable sum in gold accompanied by a letter, which declared that he (Aurangzeb) was anxiously expecting his son's return.

Finally, Aurangzeb, finding that his son still hesitated to start, wrote to him another letter, in which he pretended astonishment at the delay, and once more invited him to come

back. But Akbar, who had now drawn from his father enough funds to last him a long time, wrote that most certainly he meant to come, but it could be in one way only—sword in hand, and at the peril of his life to make himself King of Hindūstān, after killing his father. By this time Aurangzeb recognised that the procedure of Shāh 'Ālam in sending money to his brother, at the time when he first went in pursuit, was no such great fault of judgment, since he (Aurangzeb) himself had fallen into the same mistake.

It was at this juncture that news reached Aurangzeb about the governor of Sūrat, called Cartalab Can (Kār-ṭalab Khān).[1] At the said port he had committed many wrongful acts, so that many times the inhabitants were forced to send complaints to the court. But as he was rich, and gave bribes to the ministers, the complaints never reached the royal ear; or if they did reach it, they were depicted as much more trifling than they really were. But God will not suffer for long the screening of the evil-doer, and opened a door by which [204] Aurangzeb was informed of the truth. He then sent the governor an order calling him to Aurangābād. As soon as he arrived, before he had been presented in the royal audience-hall, Aurangzeb sent a eunuch with poison to be given to the said governor. When the eunuch reached the tents of Kārṭalab Khān, he called for him in a loud voice, and according to the custom of these overbearing instruments, said it was the royal order that in his presence, and without delay, the poison sent by the king should be swallowed. Thus he was forced to take it, so as not to give the king a chance of issuing an order for the destruction of his entire family. In this way did the man end his life who had given rise to so many complaints, affording a warning to others to comport themselves with greater equity, and carry out the king's service with more tenderness.

Finding that he could not effect anything of value against Sambhā Jī, Aurangzeb became desirous of completing his acquisition of the Bījāpur kingdom. He therefore corre-

[1] On the 4th Shawwāl, twenty-eighth year, 1095 H. (September 15, 1684), Ṣalābat Khān replaced Kār Ṭalab Khān (Muḥammad Beg) as *Mutaṣaddi* (manager) of Bandar Sūrat (' Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 247).

sponded with the generals of that realm, sending them large gifts and presents in the hope that they might rebel against their king and come over to his army. Among those who consented to Aurangzeb's proposals was Abdul Aquim ('Abd-ul-ḥakīm). This man, knowing by experience the bravery of the Goa Portuguese, for they had defeated him, counselled Aurangzeb to make friends with those Europeans. If they continued their hostilities, Sambhā Jī would be forced to keep two armies in the field, one in the direction of the Dakhin, the other opposed to the Portuguese. Thus it would be more easy to stop him from plundering in all directions.

Aurangzeb wrote to the viceroy, Francisco de Tavora, Conde de Alvor,[1] asking him to make war on Sambhā Jī, and offering to make him a gift of all the lands he took from that prince. Aurangzeb's rebellious son, Akbar, was in Sambhā Jī's company: they must refuse him any passage, and decline to give him any assistance; in fact, if they could capture or kill him, they would be doing him (Aurangzeb) a great favour. In due time he would require such a service. To carry these things through, he sent to them Sec Mahamed (Shekh Muḥammad) as his envoy. Meanwhile, on the advice of the said 'Abd-ul-ḥakīm, he made preparations to send Shāh 'Ālam in the direction of Goa to invade the territories of Sambhā Jī. A fleet was to go by sea [205] from Sūrat, taking supplies of provisions for the army of that prince.

My Return to Goa, and the Various Events which happened There during my Stay.

It was at this time that out of disgust I resolved to live no longer among Mahomedans, now that I had put together a sufficient sum. Nor did Shāh 'Ālam pay me at all punctually. I therefore decided to return to Goa, where I had some money in the hands of the Theatine fathers,[2] meaning to leave eventually for Europe. For this reason I asked several times

[1] Francisco de Tavora, Conde de Alvor, arrived in Goa on September 11, 1681, and left India on December 15, 1686 (Danvers, ii. 361, 370).

[2] The Theatines first arrived at Goa on October 25, 1640 (Müllbauer, 'Geschichte,' 351). The Fathers at Goa were Italians from Milan.

for my discharge, which he (Shāh 'Ālam) always refused me, till at length I told him that my private affairs needed my presence at Sūrat, and he must give me leave for at least two months. He consented to this, and I went to Sūrat; there Senhor Francisco Martin,[1] at this day general of the royal company of France, gave me an armed sloop to carry me as far as Damān in Portuguese territory. Thence I got to Goa, and lived in the gardens. When Aurangzeb's letter reached the viceroy he had me sent for to translate it into Portuguese. On hearing the proposals I gave him advice as to what he should do. For this war could not be of any benefit to the Portuguese, seeing that the Mogul would never be content to leave the Portuguese to themselves after he had destroyed Sambhā Jī. In spite of this, the viceroy engaged in the war against that prince, and thereby all but lost Goa [206].

Akbar seeks the Means of delivering Goa into the Hands of Sambhā Jī.

Sambhā Jī learnt the above news, and Akbar, who was living in that prince's territories, not far from Goa, was anxious to show his gratitude for the honour Sambhā Jī had shown him. He also sought occasion to prepare for the flight which he designed to make into Persia, and wanted to ask the viceroy to provide him with a ship for that purpose. He sent an envoy to the viceroy, forwarding at the same time some rubies and diamonds for sale. He prayed as a favour that permission might be granted him to build a ship on the river of Goa for his flight into Persia, he being persecuted by his father, Aurangzeb. He really wanted to build the ship, but also hoped to land, a few at a time, a large number of his men, and then, all of a sudden, to seize Goa. Knowing as I did the tricks of the Mahomedans, I advised the viceroy to take great care and find out how many men were disembarked, for they might

[1] François Martin, Director-General of the French East India Company at Pondicherry, was at Sūrat from 1680 to 1686—first, as second to Baron, and on his death in 1683 as Director. He returned to Pondicherry in 1686 (see article by P. Margry in 'Biographie Universelle,' Michaud, new edition). Damān lies about fifty miles south of Sūrat.

cause damage to Goa before His Excellency could prevent them; and truly Sambhā Jī's intention was to get a number of men into the island. Then he meant to come in person to attack, after the men already landed in the island had occupied the best positions. Thus would he manage to accomplish his purpose. The viceroy gave heed to my words, and he noticed that the next day a great number of men came from Sambhā Jī's territory for work at the ship, but many fewer withdrew at night. Orders were therefore given that all must withdraw, and that the next day as many as came in the morning must go back at night.

Nor did the Viceroy content himself with giving Akbar leave to build his ship; he also made ready some presents to be sent to him. I held my tongue till I saw that these things were already prepared, when, out of the affection I bore to my fellow-Christians, I went to the viceroy. I said to him that to me it seemed that His Excellency was not acting with sufficient caution. He intended to write to the Mogul (Aurangzeb), agreeing, at his request, to make war [207] on Sambhā Jī; while by these presents he acted as if he thought that great king to be of small account. For, not content with allowing Akbar to build a ship, he was sending him presents. By this the Mogul would be angered, and would seek an opening for some attempt against Goa, because of the favour shown to his rebellious son. The viceroy was pleased to listen, and came to a stop, and did not send the presents. Meanwhile the ship was finished, and Akbar had it removed to the port of Vingorla,[1] twelve leagues distant from Goa, and in the territory of Sambhā Jī.

Battle between Sambhā Jī and the Viceroy of Goa, and how Some Portuguese asserted I was a Traitor.

Finding that by using the chance afforded by the matter of the ship he could not carry out his design, Sambhā Jī sent to the viceroy tutored spies, who told him that in the fortress of

[1] Vingorla, in the Ratnagiri district, is a little to the north of Goa—say, thirty-three miles. The removal of the ship from Goa to Vingorla is confirmed by Orme, 'Historical Fragments,' edition 1782, p. 179.

Pondā were great treasures. His object was to get the viceroy to leave Goa with a large force for the conquest of that fortress. Then he meant to cut off the Portuguese retreat and prevent their return, in this way making himself master of Goa. The facts became known to a French trader then in Rājāpur,[1] and he wrote to me to warn the viceroy of Sambhā Jī's purpose. He was coming down with his army.

I told His Excellency, but he would not heed my words. He issued forth with eight hundred white soldiers and eight thousand Canarese.[2] He crossed with them to the other side of the river and began his campaign. With him went five pieces of heavy artillery. The men inside Pondā[3] defended themselves until the arrival of Sambhā Jī along with Akbar's men. They attacked with great fury the viceroy's army, and gave him as much to do as he could manage. His best troops were killed, and if he had not used wooden obstructions with which to impede the onset of the cavalry, he would never have been able to get back to Goa, nor could he have made any defence. The rainy weather impeded the discharge of his matchlocks; thus, coming on still closer, a trooper among the Rājpūts dealt His Excellency [208] a sword-blow on the ribs. Retreating slowly, he reached the river bank with great difficulty, and once more entered Goa. He recognised, although too late, that he had been misled. Great grief was caused in the city from the fruitless loss of so many lives.

In the interval Goa was governed by the archbishop, Dom Manoel de Souza de Menezes.[4] There came a boat sent by the

[1] Apparently Dhunda Rājāpur, close to Jinjīrah, is intended (see Grant-Duff, 138). It is in lat. 18° 18′, long. 73° 3′ (Thornton, 811). Sambhā Jī's troops were then besieging Jinjīrah.

[2] F. C. Danvers, ii. 369, 370, copies Grant-Duff, 139, 140, verbatim, and the latter relies upon Orme, 'Historical Fragments,' edition 1805, 122-124. Orme says the Viceroy took the field in September, 1683, and his camp having been surrounded by Sambhā Jī, he had to force his way step by step back to Goa.

[3] Pondah, nine miles south-east by east from Goa (Thornton, 'Gazetteer,' 773). Orme, 123, calls it thirty miles. The place had been taken from the Portuguese by Shivā Jī in 1675 (Grant-Duff, 119).

[4] Manoel de Sousa e Menezes became Archbishop on September 20, 1681, and died on January 31, 1684 (M. Müllbauer, 'Geschichte der katholischen Missionen in Ost Indien,' p. 365. Freiburg, 1852).

general of Aurangzeb's fleet, which was on the watch to prevent Akbar leaving Vingorla in the ship he had built. It brought a message for the viceroy, urging him to make a valiant fight of it, and before very long he (Aurangzeb) would arrive to his assistance. But the archbishop would not listen to the envoy, and gave the answer that he must go and deal direct with the viceroy. I knew this because I translated the letters, and I did not wish to forsake the [vice]roy at such a time, so that he might have no cause of complaint against me. I therefore demanded permission of his lordship, and with great difficulty he granted me a boat to travel in. We in Goa did not then know the miserable plight of the viceroy.

I left, but the archbishop, I know not why, sent an order to the guards posted on the river to seize me. Thus, while I disbursed my coin to aid and serve the Christians against the power of the Mogul, they made me out to be a traitor. They persuaded the archbishop that I was taking with me five hundred Shivājīs (*i.e.*, Mahrattahs) to cut off the viceroy's retreat, and prevent his returning again to Goa. For this reason he directed my arrest. The captains of the guards knew quite well I was innocent, for when I reached them I had with me no one but a servant. In spite of this, as the orders were absolute, they civilly made me a prisoner without communicating to me their orders. I made pretence of not recognising that the way they were treating me betrayed suspicion of my acts. At this time I saw the arrival of several boat-loads of dead and wounded, a proof that Sambhā Jī had defeated the viceroy.

But if I took as a joke this treatment of me by the archbishop, it was not really such. Nor did the envoy look upon the manner in which he had been received as any joke; for wishing to make him out greater than he was, they placed him in danger of losing his head. They began to spread a rumour [209] that he was not an envoy, but the very Sambhā Jī himself. This story was so much accepted that men were already in search of him to slay him. Such is the power of fear when it enters into people who are otherwise of good sense! When I saw what their purpose was, I did my very

best that they should not kill him, but only arrest him. I assured them he was not Sambhā Jī, but a Mogul, as he really was. For if they had killed him, I, too, ran a very great risk of losing my life, and that for nothing else than trying to help His Excellency at the time the said envoy arrived.

It pleased God that at last the viceroy should arrive, and he, too, was at first persuaded that the man was Sambhā Jī in person. But after I had spoken with him, I assured him that even if he were really Sambhā Jī in person, no violence could be done by him, for I would keep close to him when the letters were presented. Thus I conducted the envoy into the presence of the viceroy, who was already in a fright.

Then, taking myself the letters from the envoy's hands, I presented them to His Excellency. Thereupon he recognised the great mistake which had held the whole island in perturbation. He (the envoy) had with him only two servants.

Sambhā Jī, under Pretext of an Embassy, tries to assassinate the Viceroy.

But let us now return to Sambhā Jī. He had missed his blow when he fought the viceroy, for if he had only occupied the river bank, it would have been easy for him to slaughter everybody, and equally easy to take Goa. All the same, he did not despair of success in his attempt; for, after the defeat of the viceroy, he took possession of the lands of Salseite (Salsette) and Bardes, between which lies the island of Goa, and after stiff fighting, tried to disembark men on the island [of Goa]. But the Portuguese resisted valiantly, above all the Augustinian fathers, who were at a crossing against which Sambhā Jī made his principal efforts.[1]

Thus, finding he had not carried out what he wanted to do, and seeing that by force [210] of arms he should not conquer, he adopted the way customary in Hindūstān—that of deceit. He therefore made Akbar act as mediator and send in a letter

[1] For Salsett and Bardes, see map at the end of vol. ii. of F. C. Danvers' 'Portuguese in India.' The Bardes district lies to the north, and that of Salsett to the south, of Goa. See farther on, ii. 214, the part taken by Frey Pedro, Augustinian, in the defence.

to the viceroy. In it he said that, being on the point of leaving for Persia, as a friend of both sides, he wanted to restore peace and amity between Sambhā Jī and the Portuguese. With this object would they send a trusty person capable of dealing with such a negotiation? He would bring it to a conclusion to the satisfaction of both parties.

The viceroy selected me for this business. On my side I recognised that I was a foreigner, so I took along with me one priest and one layman, both Portuguese, to bear testimony to my acts and words. I made declaration to the viceroy that they would never conduct me to Akbar, but to Sambhā Jī instead. I questioned the viceroy as to what I should do in that case. He said to me that under no circumstances did he wish me to approach Sambhā Jī. With this point determined on, I quitted Goa.

Hardly had I arrived within Sambhā Jī's country when they wanted to carry me to him and not to Akbar. Thereupon I declared that I would not go, that I would sooner lose my head than act against the orders I had received. Akbar learnt this, and dispatched Durgā Dās,[1] as representing his person during the negotiation with Sambhā Jī. On these conditions I, too, attended, or else they would have carried me there by force.

We reached the presence of Sambhā Jī, who received me with great politeness. During the conversation he made bitter complaint of the viceroy's declaring war against him in spite of the King of Portugal's orders. The king had ordered him to maintain peace with his neighbours. Many other things against the viceroy did he say to me during this talk. It was on this occasion he told me that with his own sword he had decapitated his chief captains, owing to their disaffection. He showed me the sword.[2]

Finally, he gave me my leave to go, adding that, seeing the viceroy would not send him an envoy, he meant to be the first and send one to him, and so let him see how much he desired

[1] Durgā Dās, Rāṭhor, the chief guardian of the infant Ajīt Singh, son of Rajah Jaswant Singh.

[2] Possibly this was Bhawānī, the sword of his father, to which Grant-Duff alludes (p. 140). For the executions, see Grant-Duff, p. 136.

to uphold peace with the Portuguese. Taking one of his officers by the hand, he said to me: 'This is the man I mean to send; he is the key of my treasure-house.' Then, laying hold of my hand also, he made the man over to me, and said he was doing him (the viceroy) much honour, for the man was his chief favourite. He sent me away, handing me two handkerchiefs of gold thread, and in the evening the envoy came to visit me. He set forth [211] his pretensions, which were that he should land in the isle with one thousand, or at the least five hundred, men as his guard, taking also seven horses (as he said) to show his rank. We hammered away for a long time at this subject, he beseeching me earnestly to secure this honourable treatment for him from the viceroy. But I displayed total indifference, saying it lay with the viceroy to concede to him or not what he asked; at the same time I would lay his requests before His Excellency. But horses were not necessary, the fortress being quite near, nor could the horses climb to it.

The reader must be made aware here of what the envoy's intentions were. The first was to get with this large number of men into Goa, where there was not a large enough garrison to defend all the posts. Coming, thus attended, to pay his court to the viceroy, it would be very easy to carry out their object. For they would enter with the fixed intention of assassinating the viceroy, and consequently would come wearing concealed chain-mail. Having succeeded, some of them would jump on the horses, and, careering about, would strike terror into the inhabitants, and throw everything into disorder. Thus Sambhā Jī would have time to land his force without any difficulty and capture defenceless Goa.

I returned to Goa and reported to the viceroy what was going on, and of the probable intentions of Sambhā Jī. For the time being he should not, I thought, give audience in the royal hall, but in the fortress of Dangī (Dangim),[1] which was quite close to the sea. Strong guards should be posted so as to hinder the envoy from carrying out his plans. Although there was some difficulty in doing what I said, nevertheless, acknowledging

[1] Dangim is shown on the map of Goa territory inserted in Danvers, vol. ii. t lies about a mile east of Goa town.

that I had some acquaintance with the tricks of people in Hindūstān, the viceroy did as I advised. Thus I went back to tell the ambassador that he might come. I took with me no more than three boats, so that too many people might not come. But so many crowded in that our boat was in great danger of going to the bottom. I complained to the envoy of this carelessness, and he grew angry; for he saw that with so small a number he would not be able to carry out his project. He wanted to give up coming. But, encouraging him, I brought him to the above-mentioned fortress. Matters were disposed in such a way that not more than seven persons were able to enter with him. These were received by the viceroy with great pomp.

The envoy's design was unmasked during the audience [212]; for he made no statement about terms of peace, stating that his coming was for nothing more than to know if the Portuguese gentlemen really desired to make peace or not, and whether they would pay tribute to his prince. The viceroy replied that he wanted peace, but would not pay any tribute. The envoy answered that he would take this reply to his prince, and then took his leave, far from well-contented, not having been able to make himself a name by a piece of treachery (*i.e.*, assassination); for amongst them this mode of going to work is proof of great valour.

Although peace negotiations were going on, there was no suspension of arms; for continuously Sambhā Jī went on fighting at Goa with great vigour. In the course of these contests, as there were not many troops in the island, there was reason to fear that Sambhā Jī might land his soldiers there. The viceroy therefore sought someone who would go to the Mogul fleet, then off Vingorla, to request the admiral to sail with his ships till he was within sight of Goa. Thus some fear would be instilled into Sambhā Jī's men then in Salsette and Bardes. But the principal thing was to get some one who would consent to go. For all they could do, they could not find any person willing to take upon himself to risk his life for the public benefit. Then, knowing the heartiness with which I had laboured to the utmost of my power, he asked me if I

would perform this benefit on behalf of a city which found itself in such a sorry plight.

I gave a favourable reply, and, as I was leaving Goa, Dom Rodrigo da Costa,[1] in command of the fleet, declared that I was on my way to destruction. God was pleased to show the care He had over my person, for one morning in the dark I found myself with my boat in the midst of thirty-seven *galliotes*[2] belonging to Sambhā Jī. As soon as we discovered that the fleet was not that of the Moguls, but of Sambhā Jī, we were very apprehensive, and already the master of the vessel and several seamen wanted to jump into the sea. But I laid hold of my matchlock and frightened them, saying that the first who moved was a dead man. If they set to work to row with all their strength, I would give them five hundred *xerafins* (*asharfī*, a gold coin) on arrival in Goa. This was in addition to several pieces of gold that I distributed among them on the spot. As the man who guided the helm was very skilful, we feigned to be part of that fleet until we had forged ahead of all the *galliotes*. Then, putting on a spurt, we drew away from our enemies, who began a chase in the hope of capturing us.

Keeping on our course, we arrived at the Mogul fleet, and I carried out my instructions. But the commander replied that he could not come away from Vingorla for fear that Prince Akbar might escape. Thus it turned out that I had put my life in danger without doing any good. Nevertheless, I went back to Goa by another route, and there I reported the Mogul fleet to be already on its way to give assistance against Sambhā Jī. This I did that all might recover heart and resolution and continue the war with greater courage.

Sambhā Jī takes the Island of Santo Estevo from the Portuguese.

A few days after my return to Goa a thing happened which placed the Portuguese in very great danger. The viceroy, as

[1] Dom Rodrigo da Costa, Captain-General of the fleet of galleons, succeeded the Conde de Alvor as Governor in December, 1686, and died in June, 1690 (Danvers, ii. 370).

[2] *Galliot*, a kind of galley or war boat (see Yule, second edition, 361, 362).

much from deficiency of men as anything else, had neglected to post any soldiers on a little island called Santo Estevao,[1] where there was a castle armed with mortars. Sambhā Jī had spies everywhere.

It was on the 25th November of some year long ago that the Portuguese had obtained possession of Goa. In memory of that conquest they built a little church called St. Catharine, which at this day is close to the hospital.[2]

On that very date in the year 1683, at ten o'clock at night, Sambhā Jī sent four thousand men at low tide to occupy the said fortress (*i.e.*, Santo Estevao). The soldiers entered it, and without any loss to themselves decapitated the whole of the garrison. As a signal that they had carried out their orders, they discharged several mortars to inform Sambhā Jī and his army that they were masters of the place. A great uproar arose in Goa.

The following day the viceroy, against the judgment of Dom Rodrigo da Costa, wished to reoccupy the place. Dom Rodrigo's advice was to post two pieces of artillery at the entry of a bridge to prevent any sally, meanwhile to patrol with small boats and stop any attempt to take Goa. This would have been quite easily done, whereby those within it (Santo Estevao) would have been obliged to surrender. But the viceroy, confident in his own judgment, preferred to reinforce the place directly with some men. He selected some [214] one hundred and fifty soldiers, shouting in a loud voice that anyone who meant to come should follow him. He went as far as the castle walls and marched round them, during which Sambhā Jī's troops slew a great many. Some reinforcements arrived, and by good luck the viceroy and Dom Rodrigo were able to reach their boats and take to flight, otherwise they would certainly have been killed like the rest.

Their getting time enough to retire was due to the conduct

[1] For Santo Estevao, see the map in Danvers, vol. ii. It lies about two miles north-east of Goa.

[2] November 25 is the Festival of St. Catherine, Virgin. The church is marked on the map in Danvers, vol. i., p. 258; it was at the north-west corner of the town (see also Pyrard de Laval, edition Gray, ii. 54). The chapel is No. 10 on Fonseca's map ('Historical Sketch of Goa,' 1878).

of a friar, one Frey Pedro de Sylveira, an Augustinian and a great friend of mine, he who had defended the crossing, as I have said (*ante*, II. 209). Seeing that the viceroy was in great peril, he exerted himself to make up a fictitious body of troops close to the bridge. He gathered *caffres* (African slaves), serving men, and scullions, whom he ordered to plunder a neighbouring open field of its sugar-cane. They were all to hold a sugar-cane at their side, standing all in a row, and making a noise with a few matchlocks. Thus they stood drawn up in front of the enemy, who, on beholding them, imagined that they were reinforcements on the way. They, too, called a halt, and relinquished pursuit of the viceroy. The latter had thus time to re-embark, but many men stuck fast in the mud, and were killed by the enemy's arrows or bullets; others were drowned. The viceroy, on embarking, took his matchlock and shot his horse to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy, and Dom Rodrigo did the same to his. On this occasion the viceroy came back with a slight bullet wound in the left arm.

Sambhā Jī's soldiers retained the island and were very near to Goa. They gave so much trouble to the city that the viceroy resolved to send an embassy to the said prince to see if he could obtain a peace, and I was obliged to go a second time to Sambhā Jī. But on my arrival I found a spy, then in his service, who gave me a faithful report of the latest news. He told me that the army of Shāh 'Ālam was already quite close. This was enough to decide me not to pursue my negotiation; therefore I determined to retrace my steps, and to advise the viceroy that the deliverance of Goa was at hand with the aid of Shāh 'Ālam. I stayed in Goa, in order afterwards to visit that prince and negotiate as soon as he arrived. In my place they sent to Sambhā Jī Manoel Saraiva and an Augustinian father. But the fighting still went on with great energy. Well was it for the Portuguese that Sambhā Jī never knew exactly how few [215] men there were in the island. If he had known, he could have carried out his scheme in its entirety.

I do not know if it was from carelessness, or from real want of soldiers, that the vessels which were on guard had not more

than seven or eight men to each vessel. I know the fact because one night the viceroy invited me to go with him in his boat on his rounds, to see if the officers were doing their duty. We found them nearly all asleep, and instead of challenging us, it was necessary for us to accost them to find out whether there was anyone in the vessel or not. Not aware that it was the viceroy who was passing, they gave us ill-conditioned replies, and we ascertained that there was not a single officer in the ships. But what was my astonishment, on reaching the fort opposite the bar at the entrance to the river, to find we had to beat at the door for a long time, making much noise, without getting any response. Finally came a soldier, who replied to us by stating there were only eleven men. Yet this fort was of the greatest importance, and Sambhā Jī had only to take it to get possession of Goa without any farther difficulty.

The viceroy was angry at getting such a reply, and asked why the men of the garrison had not answered. The soldier said that they could not answer, for there was no one, only a boy who tended the goats. These were the preparations that we found in the ships and at that fort at a time when Sambhā Jī was doing all he could to capture a city that had ever remained the glory of the Portuguese! From this the reader may judge how little these gentlemen thought of the courage of veteran soldiers such as those of Sambhā Jī; or else, overconfident in themselves, they imagined that their mere name would bar the way to the enemy, or it may be that in reality there were no troops available. In any case, those they had in their service could not have cared much whether they lived under the rule of the Portugal king or that of Sambhā Jī.

Arrival of Shah ʻĀlam close to Goa, and the Embassy to the Viceroy.

Aurangzeb received the reply of the Goa viceroy, in which he promised to allow free passage up the river to his fleet coming from Sūrat with supplies for the army of his son, Shāh ʻĀlam. The king ordered that prince to march with forty-five thousand horsemen in the direction of Goa, traversing the

kingdom of Bījāpur. His instructions were to capture the island of Goa by treachery, thus becoming able thereafter to invade easily the territories of Sambhā Jī.

On this march Shāh 'Ālam took several of Sambhā Jī's forts, and arrived near Goa in time to deliver the island from the hands of that prince. It was already in great danger. Sambhā Jī made every possible exertion to take it before Shāh 'Ālam arrived, but it did not happen according to his desire. Thus, on the arrival of the Mogul fleet, he was obliged to decamp; but before he disappeared he ordered the mortars in Santo Estevao to be charged, with the idea of bursting them, seeing that he could not carry them away. But in this he did not succeed, for only one of them burst; then, spiking the rest, he fled.

As soon as Shāh 'Ālam arrived, he sent an envoy to the viceroy as far as the river bank. On learning this, His Excellency ordered me to go and speak to this envoy, who was the brother of Sec Mahamed (Shekh Muḥammad). I went to the spot, and while afar off I saluted him in the European fashion. But he, remaining seated in his palanquin, paid little or no heed to me, and, ignoring the politeness customary in India, which is to raise the hand to the head, he placed it on his breast, as usual among the Persians. This made me angry, and I declined to advance any farther. His example was not followed by the slaves and servants of Shāh 'Ālam; they knew how anxious their master was to retain me at his court. They all bowed to me with great respect.

I did not neglect to say in a loud voice what seemed to me necessary against such a messenger, and, turning my back, cheerfully accosted my friends. All the same, I did not lose the words said by the envoy. They amounted to nothing more than that the Portuguese [217] were under great obligations to Shāh 'Ālam, and they ought to commence at once to count out the millions they would have to give for having been delivered from Sambhā Jī. Then spies went off to Shāh 'Ālam and told him that the viceroy had sent me to treat with the ambassador, and that the latter had failed to render me due honour.

The prince was much put out, and in that man's place sent my friend, called Miraxam (Mīr A'ẓam),[1] with orders to conciliate me in every way. On his reaching the river bank I advanced to meet him, but he, having received different instructions from the first man, rose to his feet when he saw me, and coming towards me, embraced me. He told me the prince's orders were that he was to do whatever I might suggest, as he had no knowledge of the viceroy. Then he delivered to me a letter sent to me by the prince. In it he begged me to come to him, as he greatly desired to speak to me, and he trusted I would not refuse, having eaten the salt of his house.

I did not wish to take him (the envoy) into Goa, so I escorted him to a little island called Ilha de Manoel de Mota. There I regaled him during the night. On the day following I conducted him to the viceroy, who was in the fortress of Santiago,[2] near the mainland. There he presented Shāh 'Ālam's letter. It began by requesting that Ḥakīm Niculao, his old servant, should be sent to him. As soon as he arrived they would arrange things to the satisfaction of both sides. Next it stated how, in conformity with the letter of the viceroy sent to the great Aurangzeb, permission was given for the entry into the river of the ships carrying supplies for the army sent against Sambhā Jī. Yet the fleet in question had not arrived. Fulfilment of the promise was now requested.

The viceroy replied that he would certainly carry out what he had promised, but the route taken must be by the other river, that of Bardes, not by that of Goa. But the envoy persisted in his demand that they wanted to pass through the river of Goa, as had been promised to His Majesty. Finally, the viceroy answered that I would go to His Highness, and that there matters would be settled.

During the discussion the king's fleet, which was at the

[1] Or Mīr Hāshim.

[2] There is a Santiago shown on the map of Goa territory in Danvers, vol. ii.; it lies about two miles east of Goa town towards the mainland. It is also on Fonseca's map, and is mentioned by Pyrard de Laval, ii. 54, edition A. Gray. Manoel de Mota, or Acadó Island (Fonseca, p. 4), is apparently the Acoro of his map, lying between San Estevaõ and Ilha de Piedade.

harbour mouth, continued to advance. When a report of this reached the viceroy, I said to Dom Rodrigo da Costa that now was the time for a display of courage and energy. Therefore, without any delay, the fleet ought to be fired upon. He hurried to the spot, where he found that, by the carelessness of the commandant of Aguada [218],[1] some five-and-twenty *galliots* had already entered, and were close to the Fort of the Kings. When he arrived he ordered at once the discharge of three loaded cannon, to intimidate them and cause their retirement. They replied that they were friends, and had come under protection of the viceroy's promise; they should therefore stop firing, as that was not the way to receive friends.

When the Aguada fort became aware that the Fort of the Kings declined to allow a passage, it, too, fired several times, in order to prevent the remainder of the fleet which was following from completing its purpose. Thus was Goa saved this time, for without a doubt it would have been lost had the fleet entered. The twenty-five *galliots* which were already inside took refuge behind the Fort of the Kings in a river which is called Nelur.[2] Here they remained until the receipt of fresh orders from Shāh 'Ālam. They plundered along the shore, and carried off any goods and women or girls found there.

My Visit to Shāh 'Ālam.

At nightfall I issued from Goa with the envoy in order to go to the encampment of Shāh 'Ālam.[3] When we disembarked, the spies informed us that the enemy were in sight. Mīr A'ẓam feared some harm to my person, and ordered twenty horsemen to accompany me as far as the camp. He stopped behind with thirty horsemen. In this way I reached the camp, where, being known, many greeted me with loud voices. I cannot express the affection with which they came to embrace me.

[1] Aguada, a fort on the sea coast, at the north point of the bay, and outside Goa River (see map in Danvers, vol. ii.). Manucci's Fort of the Kings is apparently identical with that of Reis Magos (Fonseca, p. 44). It lies about two miles to the north-east of Aguada.

[2] Nerul, about half a mile north-east of Aguada, on a small river, the mouth of which lies between Aguada and Reis Magos.

[3] The subject of this embassy is returned to in Part III., fol. 196.

If the reader could only know the manner in which I had behaved to all the officials and ministers, he would not be surprised that they received me with as much love as if I had been one of their relations.

I proceeded to the prince's tents, and there the eunuchs, who knew how eagerly the prince and the princess were looking for me, came forward to receive me. The chief eunuch told me that Shāh 'Ālam had ordered that at whatever hour I might arrive he should be forthwith informed; he had also directed the whole army to be in readiness the next morning. For, if I did not arrive, he meant to send his troops across the river by swimming it. I said to the man that the prince should not be roused; it was already midnight, and I could wait, nor was it right that a tired prince should be woke on account of one of his [219] servants.

When the prince got up in the morning, they reported my arrival. He was more anxious for this than for the taking of Goa, and was now content. He issued orders for his soldiers to return to their quarters, as he no longer meant to take any action. Next, he sent word inside to the princesses and princes that I had come, and called them all together with great glee, and ordered a letter to be written to his mother, Nabab Baegi (Nawāb Bāe Jī),[1] telling how he had now caught me. For this queen had complained bitterly about his giving me leave of absence. She called me within the *pardah*, where I first made my bow as a European, and then did obeisance in the court fashion.

She was much amused at seeing me in European costume, my beard shaved off, and wearing a peruke. As the princess had not been used to seeing me in such a get-up, she asked me what drugs I took to return to youth. Then, jokingly, I gave her my reasons, and let her understand that I did not want to serve any more, because the officials did not carry out the promises made to me by His Highness. The prince

[1] Nawāb Bāe (Rahmat-un-nissā) was the daughter of Rajah Rājū, of Rājaurī in Kashmīr. She died at Dihlī in 1102 H. (1690-91). It was through her that Shāh 'Ālam claimed descent from the Prophet (see the 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' and the 'Bahādur Shāh Nāmah' of Dānishmand Khān (Ā'lī).

replied that I ought not to trouble myself about this; I had only to apply to him on the occurrence of any difficulty, and without fail he would ensure me whatever satisfaction I could desire. Laughing at the liberty I was taking, I told him that I could no more rely on His Highness than on the rest, for many times he had broken his promises. Then he brought forward his heir, Sulṭān Mazudin (Mu'izz-ud-dīn),[1] as security, and added one hundred rupees a month to my former pay. He ordered my pay to be disbursed for the whole time of my absence from his court. In addition, he promised to maintain four horses to carry my baggage and eight men to carry my palanquin, with my food daily sent from his table.

After this we entered upon a conversation over the differences with the viceroy. As I was obliged, in my capacity of envoy from the viceroy, to take the part of the Portuguese gentlemen, I said to His Highness that the viceroy could not on any conditions allow the royal fleet to come through the river of Goa, such being the orders of the King of Portugal. If His Excellency disobeyed such orders, his head would be in great danger.

Shāh 'Ālam persisted that at least the *galliots* already in the river, behind the Fort of the Kings, should continue their course. He assigned as reason that, other ships being allowed to pass, they might just as well allow the said *galliots* to go up, since they were already inside. I retorted that other ships allowed to pass were merchantmen, as to which there was no prohibition. But in respect of His Highness's ships and those of other crowns, there was a rigorous [220] order not to let them pass. If the viceroy in his letter to Aurangzeb had promised a passage, that must be understood not of the Goa River, but of the lands belonging to the Portuguese. He did not decline to comply, but offered a passage through other rivers. To show better to His Highness that the viceroy maintained friendship with His Highness and with his father,

[1] Mu'izz ud-dīn, afterwards Emperor under the title of Jahāndār Shāh, born on May 10, 1661, N.S.; executed on February 11, 1713, N.S. The objection is quite in character, for Shāh 'Ālam was very profuse in promises, and never paid anybody.

he would provide men to guide the vessels to any port His Highness wished.

This proposal so much approved itself to Shāh 'Ālam that he was willing to order the *galliots* already inside to go out again. He sent with me people to carry this order to the captain-general of the fleet; and I left with him other men to act as guides in conducting him by land to the mouth of the river of Bardes.

To conclude the story, before giving me my leave, he sent to me an exquisite *sarāpā* (set of robes) and a horse. I was made to promise that I would return to him next day at two o'clock in the afternoon. I took with me the men carrying to the captain-general of the fleet the orders to turn back and proceed to meet the prince by way of the Bardes River.

I went to Goa and recounted to the viceroy what had happened. He was considerably gratified at the way I had arranged matters, and at deliverance from the peril he had been in of losing the island. I urged him to give the ambassadors their dismissal with the presents he meant to send to His Highness. In the morning I did my very best to be sent off early, in order to fulfil my promise to reach His Highness at two o'clock in the afternoon. But His Excellency wanted me to carry a letter to the prince, and kept me waiting longer than was necessary. For this reason the prince, finding I did not arrive at the appointed hour, ordered Bardes to be plundered, and thereby force the viceroy to send me at once.

His Highness had ordered that as soon as ever they perceived me approaching, they were to stop further plundering. The sentries, who recognised me, shouted and ran about to make the soldiers give over, but that did not help the poor wretches already stripped bare. I reached the prince, and was well received; but I made somewhat of a remonstrance at the irregularity of the soldiers plundering Bardes, when we were friends. The prince smiled and said to me, 'It would have been still worse for them if you had not appeared.' There we halted for several days, until the supplies for the army had been landed. It is impossible for me to detail the gifts I received from all the court, and even from the princesses and sons of

Shāh 'Ālam. The latter was aware that I was serving him reluctantly, and thus instigated these others to propitiate me [221].

FLIGHT OF AKBAR INTO PERSIA.

In this interval Akbar fled from Vingorla to Rājāpur;[1] he could not make his escape in the vessel he had prepared, for the royal fleet had burnt it. At Rājāpur, with the help of some French merchants there, he acquired means of flight, and reached Persia, where he was received in state by Xaasoliman (Shāh Sulaimān),[2] son of Shāh 'Abbās. Great gifts were conferred on him, but he was not permitted to leave the court. There he dwelt till the death of that king. I shall have to speak hereafter (II. 253) of how this prince once entered the Mogul realm in the days of Xaa Houcem (Shāh Ḥusain),[2] son of the then existing King of Persia, and caused a certain amount of apprehension.

When Aurangzeb knew that his son had reached Persia, where he was favoured by King Sulaimān, who gave him daily three hundred *patacas*[3] for expenses, he wrote a letter to the following effect: 'I know from trustworthy reports that the rebel Akbar is with you. Thus, at sight of this, forward him to me in chains. If you do not act as I command you I will chastise you severely, as I did Dārā.' The *wazīr*, Asad Khān,[4] after having sealed the letter, laid it before the king, saying: 'Here is the letter, in conformity with your Majesty's commands; now you can nominate the person who is to take it; as for the answer, I know not who will bring it.' Thereby he conveyed to the king that he who carried the letter would be beheaded, and King Sulaimān would march in person against India. On hearing this opinion, Aurangzeb said some evasive words, but the letter in question was never dispatched.

We went to Vingorla, and the prince captured that place

[1] For Rājāpur, see *ante;* it is near Jinjīrah.

[2] Sulaimān, Ṣafawi, succeeded in 1667, and was followed by Ḥusain, 1694-1722 (S. L. Poole, 'Mohammadan Dynasties,' 259).

[3] Elsewhere the author tells us the *pataca* was equal to two rupees.

[4] Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, Qaramānlū, entitled Āṣaf-ud-daulah, Jamdat-ul-Mulk, Asad Khān, became *wazīr* in 1086 H. (1675-76). He died in 1129 H. (1716-17).

easily, seeing that nearly everybody took to flight. The fleet continued to accompany us. After a few days the Portuguese ambassadors arrived; they were João Antunes Portugal and Manoel de Santo Pinto. They brought some showy presents, and lengths of ornamented China cloth, some lovely branches of coral, and six small pieces of artillery, with other objects, the whole being worth a good amount.

They were well received, and *sarāpā* (sets of robes) were ordered for each of them, in addition to two thousand rupees. For the viceroy there were given a caparisoned horse, a dagger mounted with precious stones, a little bottle of essence of roses, and an honourable *formão* (*farmān*, or rescript ?) [222].

It should be noted here that at the presentation of these ambassadors I did not act as interpreter, but some other European. In reading out the conditions he succeeded in doing a piece of bad work for the Portuguese. For in one paragraph the viceroy desired Shāh 'Ālam either to give him eight hundred horses, or permit him to buy them in the camp. The European stated as the viceroy's proposal that, if the prince gave him eight hundred horses he would consider himself a subject. This was as much as to say that he would place Goa in the prince's hands. When I heard this, I prayed the royal scribe to stop writing, for the interpreter did not understand the viceroy's proposal. All he said was, that being in want of eight hundred horses to continue the campaign against Sambhā Jī, he asked for these eight hundred horses; and should His Highness decline to give them, he prayed leave to buy them in his camp. The interpreter was angered, but I judged it necessary on such an occasion to speak up, to defend truth, and protect Goa from a pretext under cover of which Aurangzeb would proceed to occupy that island.

In the evening of the same day I encountered Shekh Muḥammad at the entrance of the prince's tents. He is the man who had gone first as envoy from Aurangzeb to the viceroy (*ante*, II. 204), and had promised Aurangzeb to make over Goa to Shāh 'Ālam. He complained to me, telling me it was not for me to intervene in the royal affairs, nor was it my business to act as an agent for the Portuguese. In time we began to

raise our voices, so that the prince heard the altercation and asked the cause, and who were the men making so much noise. Then they told him how Ḥakīm Niculão and Shekh Muḥammad were shouting at each other over the pending negotiations. The prince, who did not want any violence, sent word to Shekh Muḥammad to go away and not open his mouth on such affairs. As for me, he called me inside, reassured me, and gave me his word that he would not touch the Portuguese. Of a certainty, had he listened to Shekh Muḥammad, he must have taken Goa, for that man was very familiar with the ground, being a native of those parts.

Manoel de Santo Pinto then returned to the viceroy, and reported to him the above two affairs. On this account the the viceroy sent me, through him, the proposition that I should accept either the knighthood of Sant' Iago, or a village yielding annually a thousand *xerafins* (*ashrafī*).[1] I did not want to accept one or the other, but Manoel de Santo Pinto pressed the accepting of one of the offers [223], as it would affront the viceroy if I refused. I therefore accepted the knighthood of Sant' Iago, which he forthwith conferred on me, together with the letters patent, in which are set forth the two particular services aforesaid which I rendered to the crown of Portugal, as may be seen from the following copy of that patent:

'Dom Pedro, by the Grace of God, Prince of Portugal and of the Algarves,[2] on this and that side of the sea in Africa, of Guinea, and of the conquered commercial navigation of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India, *et cetera;* As regent and successor, and ruler of the said realms and lordships, and governor and perpetual administrator, as I am, of the Mastership and Knighthood of the three Military orders:

'Be it known to all beholding this Patent, that having regard to the services done by Niculao Manuchy in our Indian

[1] Yule, 974, says the *xerafin* is a silver coin current at Goa, in value somewhat less than 1s. 6d.; it varied from 300 to 360 *reis* of Portuguese money. But surely Manucci uses it here for the gold *ashrafi* of Northern India, worth 10s. or 11s. £75 a year would not be a reward to boast of; one of over £500 a year would be.

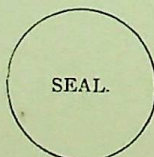
[2] Algarve, the southernmost province of Portugal, said by Yule, 595, to be from *gharb* (Arabic), 'the west.'

dominions on various occasions arising in our service; by translating the letters written by the Mogul King to the Count, our viceroy in the said Dominions; and by being present during the conferences with his ambassador, Shekh Muḥammad, upon the matters under negotiation; subsequently, upon the approach of the prince Muḥammad Mu'aẕẕam, Shāh 'Ālam, eldest son of the said king, with his army, to the vicinity of the said Dominions, by accompanying the envoy that the said Count, our viceroy, sent to the said Prince; and by going more than once to the said army on various matters of great importance appertaining to the said Dominions. Wherein the said Niculao Manuchy conducted himself with great fidelity and zeal in our service; from which we anticipate he will act in the same way from now henceforth.

'For all these reasons he is worthy of every honour and favour, and to prove to the said Prince the esteem in which we hold his person; We hold it expedient to make a grant to the said Niculaõ Manuchi of the vestment of the order of Saõ Tiago which he can wear on his breast like a true knight, for which he will be recognised, and respected as such, enjoying all the honours and privileges thereto appertaining.

'Wherefore I order that this patent now issued be made over to him, that it be carried out and observed in its entirety, as therein set forth, and that it be sealed with the seal bearing the Royal Arms of the Crown of Portugal. Our Lord the Prince issues it through Francisco de Tavora, Count of Alvor, one of His Councillors of State, Viceroy and Captain-General of India, Executed by the Custodian Souza Moreira in Goa [224] the twenty and ninth of January of one thousand six hundred and eighty-four.

'Ordered to be recorded.

'The Secretary,
'LUIS GONSALVES COTA.

'COUNT OF ALVOR.

'LUIS GONSALVES COTA.'

'Patent by which Your Highness is pleased to grant to Niculao Manuchy the vestment of the Order of Saõ Thiago, to be borne on his breast as a true knight enjoying all the honours and privileges pertaining thereto, as is above declared.

'Verified by Your Highness.

'Registered in the Book of Grants in the State Secretariat on page twenty-nine.[1]

'LUIS GONSALVES COTA.'

I SEEK MEANS OF FLIGHT, BUT FAIL.

I did not wish to continue in the service of Shāh 'Ālam, for I did not feel happy living among Mahomedans. I saw that these campaigns would not soon come to an end, and thus I should be forced to wander here and there and everywhere with the prince's camp. I took my measures for flight, as was my intention. The first thing I did was to pray the ambassador from the Portuguese to wait for me with his *galliot* (armed boat). For when the prince started to march with his army I meant to get back to Goa with him (the envoy). He gave me his word that he would await me. Then I resolved to return the two thousand rupees given me by Shāh 'Ālam to enable me to march with the army. I did not want it said of me that Hakīm Niculao fled after having received two thousand rupees. So I took them to Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-dīn, Shāh 'Ālam's heir, and asked him to consent to holding the said two thousand rupees, as I had no place to put them. He ordered his eunuch to take charge of them.

I waited until the prince had set out, and then I made off,

[1] My friend Mr. J. Batalha-Reis, M.V.O., Portuguese Consul-General and Commercial Attaché in London, thinks this document is genuine. The three military Orders of Sant' Iago, Christ, and Avis (or St. Benedict), were still in the seventeenth century of high standing, and only given to nobles or for important services. He thinks the document was actually made out in Goa by the Viceroy acting for the King. From 1667 to 1683 King Alfonso VI. was held to be mad, and his brother, Dom Pedro, was Regent. The King died on September 12, 1683, when the Regent became King as Pedro II. But this fact could only be known in India some months later, and the wording of the Patent is thus accounted for.

hoping to catch up the ambassador and his boat. But he had gone off to feast himself in the Dutch factory, and thus the attempt failed. When the prince knew of it, he fell into a great rage at my attempted flight, and ordered his foster-brother, Mīr Muḥammad, to whose charge he had committed me, to go off in search of me, and not to come back to his presence until he brought me with him. He sent an order to the commander of the fleet to proceed in search of me and carry me off by force or persuasion. For he declared unconditionally that he meant to keep me in his service.

But he knew I was no lover of violence, so he sent to the sea-shore a caparisoned horse for me to ride, and an elephant, along with five hundred horsemen to escort me. This was all to do me great honour, but they were to seize me if they came across me.

I was much affected when I did not find the ambassador in the boat. While I was waiting for him, I felt happy at having got away from the camp. Then the sentries reported to us how a *galliot* belonging to the Mahomedans was approaching. Putting my head to the window, I saw that it was Mīr Muḥammad, and thereby my courage at once evaporated.

He came aboard the envoy's boat, and earnestly entreated me to save his life; for the prince would never see him until I went back to the camp and spoke with His Highness, who was waiting for me. While we were still in talk, the sentry said that all the Mahomedan army had come from Vingorla. Thus I lost all hope of being able to flee, and, entering Mīr Muḥammad's *galliot*, we went off to find the prince, who had already gone four leagues farther off. The commander of the fleet notified my arrival to the prince. But owing to the land route being closed by the enemy, who were plundering in all directions, thus causing great risk of the elephant's capture, which would be a disgrace; he ordered them to embark the horses and the troopers told off to escort me, while the elephant was put aboard some other vessel. Thus we all went to a port distant two days from Vingorla, where the prince had gone to destroy

a temple known as the White Pagoda, or of the Virgins.[1] It was sent into the air by gunpowder.

The prince was pleased and happy at my return. Remonstrating lovingly with me, he said he did not know what was to happen to me. For he saw that I had no love for him or for his family. Other Farangīs would adopt any and every method to find a prince who had for them a mere fraction of the interest he displayed in me. I replied that I fully admitted the love with which His Highness was pleased to favour me; but my expenses were heavy, nor did I deserve less pay than that given to the other physicians. Thus I could not continue to serve him. Besides this, his ministers and the officials made me wait a very long time for the little His Highness gave me. In this way while in his service I was expending my patrimony without benefit and with nothing but distress.

Before putting faith in this speech of mine, it is necessary for the reader to know my temperament, and he should in addition know the wonderful cures I had effected among the Mahomedans. Well might I talk thus, for I neither sought for, nor was I in need of, the prince's pay, and thoroughly content should I have been had he grown angry and said, 'Be off with you!' But he, instead of getting angry and expelling me, ordered, in my hearing, a guard of horse and foot to be put upon me, as he did not want me to escape again. Seeing thus how determined he was, I said I could not follow him, not

[1] I have failed to trace this place, but I think that probably it is identical with the 'Pagode' marked on the Sieur Sanson's Map of India (1652), of which a tracing has kindly been sent me by Mr. W. Foster, of the India Office; it can also be seen in Baffin's Map of 1619, in Mr. Foster's 'Sir Thomas Roe,' vol. ii. It is placed between Kharepatan on the north and Banda on the south, both of which can be seen on Plate XXXIV. in Constable's 'Hand Atlas.' An alternative, and perhaps preferable, suggestion is made by Dr. O. Codrington. He thinks the place intended must be Malwān (including the Mahrattah fort of Sindhūdrūg), on the coast, some fifteen to twenty miles to the north of Vingorla. As it was a Mahrattah possession, and much reverenced by them, Sindhūdrūg was the sort of place the Mahomedan invader would endeavour to destroy. The White Pagoda may have stood near Malwān, where there are still Hindū temples of note (see 'Bombay Gazetteer,' x. 348, Ratnagirī District). On the map in Baldœus' 'Coromandel' (first published in 1672), 'Pagoda' is shown opposite a creek, between Wingerla (Vingorla) on the south and Coropatan (Kharepatan) on the north (see Churchill, 'Voyages,' ed. 1745, vol. iii.).

having the necessary equipment; all my baggage was in Goa. On this account I prayed leave to visit Goa to fetch my things, and bid farewell to my relations. I pledged my word to come back within the term of seven days.

He was reluctant to give me this leave, but in the end said he would grant it if I swore to come back again. I swore after the manner of Hindūstān—that is, by the feet of His Highness—I would appear again. But he refused this oath, and called upon me to swear by the name of the Messiah, and that then he would place faith in my words and permit me to quit the royal camp. Finding he required this of me, I swore by the terrible, venerable, and admirable name of Jesus that I would be faithful to my promise. Then he granted me the leave, and conferred on me another set of robes (*sarāpā*).

Though thus obliged to abandon Goa, which I had wished to serve to the utmost of my power, I resolved to seize the occasion for alleviating the great necessity from which it was then suffering. There was a famine from want of [227] supplies, especially of wheat, of which there was none in Goa, not even enough to prepare the host. I asked the prince to let me have a cargo of wheat, his army being fully supplied. It was to be delivered at Goa on the account of the merchants, for I wished to confer this benefit on my intimates by way of a parting gift. My petition was acceded to, and embarking on the same vessel, I went to Goa, where the Portuguese were much pleased at the benefit I had gained for them from the prince, and the merchants acquired their profit. After two days I took leave of the viceroy and my friends, and returned to the royal camp, where the prince awaited me with great eagerness.

When I arrived I learnt that the prince was already prepared for the march, having completed the destruction of the White Pagoda and other edifices belonging to Sambhā Jī. We took the road for Bardes once more, halting on the bank of that river. Shāh 'Ālam had given orders that everyone caught entering or leaving the camp at night should be beheaded without fail. This was to frighten the spies and hinder them from coming to pry about in the camp. It happened that they caught among others some Canarese who had come from Goa to sell fruit

butter, *et cetera*, in the camp. Already they were on their way, early in the morning, to be beheaded, when my servants, hearing of this, informed me of the miserable plight of these Canarese. I therefore hurried to the prince, who was already on the march, and besought him for an order to release my people, who had carried me from Goa. He smiled and directed the release of the men for whom I had petitioned. Thus some men were released whom I had recognised to be Christians.

After this we marched and climbed a mountain called Ramgat (? Rāmghāṭ),[1] a league and a half of ascent. Here Sambhā Jī might have killed the whole of us, for it was a place difficult to climb, with narrow paths passing through jungle and thorny scrub. But he did not choose to attempt it, and they said he was acting in collusion with Shāh 'Ālam.

But what Sambhā Jī did not do by attacking us, God carried out by the pestilence which raged in the army with such violence that in seven days of its prevalence everyone died who was attacked—that is, about one-third of the army. Of this disease there died every day five hundred men; nor was the mortality confined to men only—it extended to horses, elephants, and camels. This made the air pestilential [228], and it being a confined route, supplies also failed, and this was like encountering another enemy. For although, as I said, wheat was abundant, from this time there were no animals to carry it. Thus the soldiers had more than enough to undergo. Many of those whose horses died had no money to buy others, nor was there anyone in the camp ready to sell. They were thus forced to march on foot, and many died of the great heat and thirst they underwent.

Having reached the top of this pass, we marched for the

[1] Grant-Duff, 145, calls the pass the Ambah-ghāṭ, and states that, after it had been ascended, Shāh 'Ālam cantoned his army for the rains at Walwa (in Satārah, lat. 16° 28′, long. 74° 15′). He mentions (p. 148) the pestilence, and also the cavalry being reduced to marching on foot. Khāfī Khān, ii. 291, speaks of Rām-darrah (pass), and the difficulties of the march. Dr. Codrington informs me that Rāmghāṭ is a pass in the Western Ghauts, south of the Amba-ghāṭ, in 15° 52′ N., 74° 4′ E. Making for the Rāmghāṭ from Vingorla, it would be necessary, in order to avoid the mountains, to march south as far as the Chapora or Convalle River, the northern limit of Bardes. It is up the valley of this river that the route to Rāmghāṭ lies, as may be seen from the Indian Atlas sheet.

kingdom of Bījāpur. Several times we were watched on the march by the enemy, who, whenever occasion served, spared neither our baggage nor ourselves, plundering in all directions. Finally, we arrived at Aamadanaguer (Aḥmadnagar),[1] where, as I stated in the First Part of my History (I. 75), Chānd Bībī caused golden and silver balls to be fired from her cannon, with an inscription that the ball should belong to the finder. Here we met the army of Aurangzeb, who was waiting for the rainy season to pass before venturing farther into the kingdoms of Bījāpur and Gulkandah. During these marches and halts, it was observed that in the morning there were on the tents various scarlet imprints of hands. Everyone was in astonishment; we could never discover the signification of these imprints, unless it could be judged to be some witchcraft. For no one could climb so high as to make these hand-prints on the royal tents.

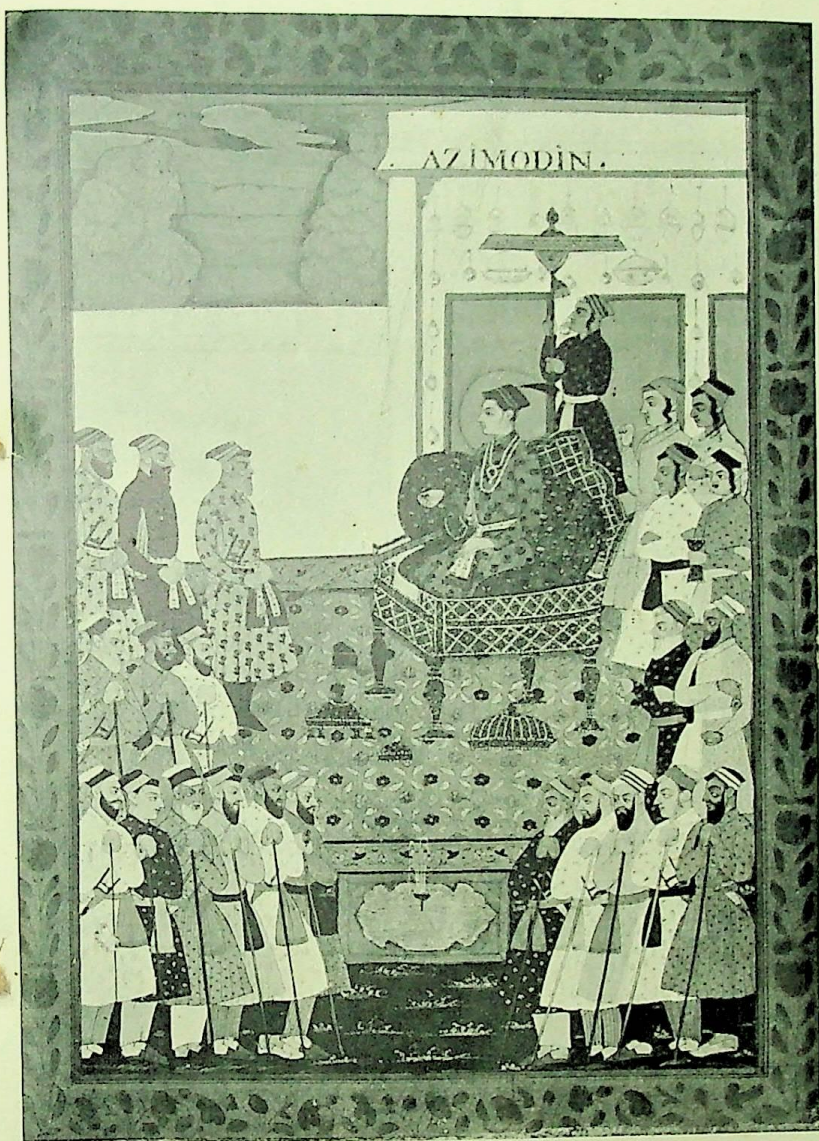
On the conclusion of the rainy season the whole army removed to Sholāpur.[2] On reaching the outskirts of that place, which had already been taken by Aurangzeb from the King of Bījāpur, the king ordered Shāh 'Ālam to proceed with Bahādur Khān to invade Gulkandah[3] as a punishment for having allied itself to the King of Bijāpur. Setting out on our march, we reached Malquer (Mālkher)[4] on the frontier of Gulkandah. There we found Mahamed Ebraim (Muḥammad Ibrāhīm),[5] a Persian, who had risen from oilman to the dignity of chief minister at Gulkandah.

[1] The arrival of Shāh 'Ālam at Aḥmadnagar took place on the 13th Jamādā II, 1095 H. (May 29, 1684) ('M.-i-'Ā.,' 244).

[2] Aurangzeb left Aḥmadnagar for Sholāpur on the 2nd Jamādā II., 1096 H. twenty-eighth year (May 7, 1685); he reached Sholāpur on June ', 1685 ('M.-i-'Ā.,' 258, 259).

[3] Shāh 'Ālam was detached against Ḥaidarābād on the 6th Sha'bān, twenty-eighth year, 1096 H. (July 9, 1685) ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 260).

[4] Mālkher (Thornton, 644, Mulkair), a town on the Bhīmā, eighty-six miles west of Ḥaidarābād, lat. 17° 10′, long. 77° 19′.

[5] For Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, holding the Quṭb-Shāhī title of Khalīlullah Khān, see 'Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' iii. 627, under his 'Ālamgīrī title of Mahābat Khān. He is mentioned again by N. M. in connection with Governor Gyfford's letter to 'Ālamgīr, sent through N. M. (see Part III., fol. 154). His portrait forms one of our illustrations (No. 38). There is an engraved portrait of him in D. Havart, 'Op en Ondergang van Coromandel,' 1693, part ii., 226, under which he has inscribed the words from Seneca: 'Ingrato terra nihil pejus alit.'

XX. SULTĀN ʻAẒĪM-UD-DĪN, SECOND SON OF SHĀH ʻĀLAM.

To the lucky fortune of the famous Mīr Jumlah he united the same treasonable practices, for he subsequently betrayed his king, as by reading farther will be seen (II. 231). To start with, he did not fail, however, in proving himself a valiant soldier, planting from time to time one on our ribs. Nevertheless, it was revealed by his style of fighting that he did not mean to exert all his force, for he could have punished us much more than he did [229].

Once more I take Flight and go to Gulkandah.

As I was already dissatisfied with all this marching, I continued to reflect on modes of retiring to Europe, there to enjoy the much or little that I had fairly earned by my labours. I therefore asked Shāh 'Ālam for leave to visit Sūrat on some business I had there. But as he knew by experience that my determination was to proceed still farther, he ordered his slaves to watch carefully that I did not take to flight. He refused to give any other answer.

Seeing him to be thus positive, I adopted another plan, which was to write to Muḥammad Ibrāhīm begging him to assist me in my escape. He wrote that he would most willingly do so. To this end he sent daily four thousand horse to patrol, as if they meant to make an attempt upon us; and this caused some anxiety to Shāh 'Ālam. This went on for several days, until the day fixed for my escape arrived. I sent my books out of the camp by the hands of my spies, who moved about in safety. Then contenting myself with carrying off my hoard of gold coins and my case of instruments, I left my tent mounted on a horse followed by a palanquin, as if I were going out to take the air. I halted at the tent of one of my friends, an Englishman named Thomas Gudlet,[1] and there I drank a cup or two, so as to mystify Shāh 'Ālam's spies. Then on the pretext that at night I had to give a dinner to some friends, I sent the spies to procure various dishes of food, some to one place, some to

[1] This must be Thomas Goodlad, who found his way to Gulkandah, and is spoken of elsewhere as a renegade. He is mentioned in the letters of Governor Gyfford sent through N. M., and probably belonged to the family referred to in Sir R. C. Temple's note (1), p. 90, 'Bowrey,' Hakluyt Society (1905).

another. I also ordered my palanquin to be taken away, as I intended to ride home that evening.

When I found myself free of these spies, I sent out two faithful servants to wait for me in a village across the river, near which were posted the four thousand horsemen of Muḥammad Ibrāhīm. On arriving they were to display a small white flag as a signal that the horsemen were there, and that I might come safely. As soon as I got this warning, I rode out on my horse as if taking the air, but, in truth, I was on my way to escape. When I reached the river I moved most leisurely, as if I only meant to give my horse a drink.

When the sentries saw I was crossing the river they began to shout and warn the horsemen that I was clearing out. But they were too late to catch me, for giving my steed the rein, I moved off in fine style. The horsemen of Shāh 'Ālam pursued me, describing a half-circle in the hope [230] of surrounding me. But Muḥammad Ibrāhīm's troopers at once rode up, lance in rest, and put Shāh 'Ālam's horsemen to flight. Thus delivered, I reached the village, and from the village the army, where I gave thanks to Muḥammad Ibrāhīm for the favour he had done me.

Nor must I omit to mention how some Christians in the service of the Gulkandah king, aware that I was seeking to escape from Shāh 'Ālam, came out to meet me and escort me, so as to take my side in case any of the Gulkandah troops attempted to interfere with me. Hardly had I reached the presence of Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, when one of Shāh 'Ālam's spies also turned up. He delivered letters to the general, and informed him in private that I was much valued by Shāh 'Ālam, who would take it very ill should he assist a person that the prince had sent after several times, and had put sentries over to prevent his escape.

The spy left, and also the other persons present, and I was alone with Muḥammad Ibrāhīm. He already regretted having helped me in my flight, and as he had been planning to desert to the prince's side, he feared being badly treated by His Highness. This was why, after having congratulated me on my escape, he prayed me to remain with him a few days; he said he felt

unwell, and wanted to purge himself. I quite understood the design of Muḥammad Ibrāhīm; he meant to make me over once more to Shāh 'Ālam. Placing my hand on my dagger, I said to him that if he did not give me leave to go on to Gulkandah, I should without fail rip open my bowels in his presence, and would rather die than go back to the service of the prince, Shāh 'Ālam.

He became alarmed at finding me thus resolute, and, retiring inside, told me to wait a little. He wrote me a passport for Gulkandah, and coming out again handed it to me, telling me privately to make all the haste I could. As this was all I was waiting for, I jumped on my horse at once, and travelled for three days, until I arrived at Gulkandah. There I repaired to the house of a friend, Monsieur Francisco Guety, and he conducted me to the mansion of Xarif Elmulq (Sharīf-ul-mulk),[1] brother-in-law of the Gulkandah king. He held several conversations with me; and the king's sister suffering from palpitation of the heart, I was able to alleviate her complaint a great deal. In this way I began to be talked about in Gulkandah [231].

Thus the king heard of my arrival. As his European physician, a Frenchman named Monsieur Destremon, was dead, the king sent for me to his presence. There, after some conversation, he directed me to go and bleed a woman in his harem, much cherished by him because she knew where the treasures of the King of Gulkandah, Cotobxa (Quṭb Shāh), were concealed. She was a Georgian, and so extremely stout, and the fat covered the veins so much, that blood could not be drawn from her except from the capillary veins. Her arms were covered with lancet marks. I felt for the vein, and after fixing the bandage, I took a measure twice the size I used for others; and I reached the vein with such dexterity that the blood gushed out with great force. Everyone was in admira-

[1] For his biography, see 'Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' ii. 688. He, with his two sons, surrendered to Shāh 'Ālam, and was sent to Aurangzeb at Sholāpur. He died on the 4th Sha'bān, 1098 H. (June 15, 1687). Monsieur Guety is probably identical with the French merchant of that name who was living at San Thome in 1704-06, and is mentioned several times in Part V.

tion at seeing a thing that had never happened with this woman before.

The king himself, who was standing behind looking on, became desirous of being bled also. But though they made me wait for that day, in the end he would not have it done. It may be that someone had frightened him that I might be an emissary from Shāh 'Ālam and Aurangzeb, sent to bleed him in such a way that he would never want to be bled again. In place of having himself bled, he made over to me for treatment one of his nephews who had an ulcerated leg, and for this purpose he presented to me seven hundred rupees for my expenses.

Shāh 'Ālam takes Gulkandah.

But whilst I was treating the king's nephew, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm had deserted to Shāh 'Ālam's side.[1] The Gulkandah forces being left without a head, Shāh 'Ālam seized the occasion, and fell at once on the enemy's army. The soldiers of Gulkandah fled in all directions in great confusion. During the fighting the second in command, called Rustam Rāo,[2] who had declined to go over to Shāh 'Ālam, was wounded. When the army had been defeated, Shāh 'Ālam advanced with rapidity against Gulkandah.

As soon as a report of this defeat reached that city, the king retired into the fortress,[3] carrying with him his friends and ministers, Madana and Ancana (Mādanā and Ākanā),[4] who were Hindūs, Brahmans, hateful to the Mahomedans. The populace, setting fire to the houses of those Brahmans, fled

[1] On the 11th Ẕu,l Ḥijjah, twenty-ninth year, 1096 H. (November 9, 1685), Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, head of the Gulkandah army, received from Aurangzeb, on Shāh 'Ālām's recommendation, the rank of 6,000, 6,000 horse, with the title of Mahābat Khān ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 269).

[2] Rustam Rāo, uncle's son of Mādanā Brahman, chief minister of Gulkandah ('Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' iii. 630).

[3] On the last day of Ẕu,l Qa'dah, twenty-ninth year, 1096 H. (October 29, 1685), a report was received from Shāh 'Ālam that Abu,l Ḥasan had retreated into the fortress, and that Ibrāhīm, his general, had come into the Mogul camp ('M.-i-'Ā.,' 267).

[4] See Khāfī Khān, ii. 292; Elliot and Dowson, vii. 315. In the 'Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' iii. 628, the second name is spelt 'Īkanā.'

from the city and scattered themselves. Without loss of time I mounted my horse, and [232] rode until I reached Mussulapataõ (Machhlīpatanam). I evaded seizure by the three hundred troopers sent after me by Shāh 'Ālam for my arrest. After a halt there of two days I came to Narsapur,[1] where, considering myself secure, I enjoyed myself with the English and Dutch. Here I remained until the king sent for me once more; but let us retrace our steps, and speak of Shāh 'Ālam's doings in Gulkandah.

It is quite certain that Shāh 'Alam is of a generous nature, and of such a good temperament that he is disinclined to harming anyone. If he took any action, it was under the orders of Aurangzeb, who, by letter after letter, forced him to act. It was due to this good nature that he had done neither to the Portuguese nor to the Shivā Jī (*i.e.*, Sambhā Jī) all the harm he could have done, and did not behave to Gulkandah with warlike rigour; for he ordered his captains and generals to do no harm to that city (Ḥaidarābād). Thus the soldiers went about the city without plundering it, and killed no one but a *faqīr*, who, being of the Persian religion, was killed by some Uzbaks, who hate the followers of 'Alī.[2]

The king [Abu,l Ḥasan], finding himself in this great difficulty, secured Shāh 'Ālam himself as mediator with Aurangzeb for making a peace. The prince wrote to his father that it would require a long delay to take the fortress (Gulkandah). Therefore, if His Majesty would content himself with things as they were, it might seem to him well to make peace with the Gulkandah king. For the fault had not been his, but that of his ministers; and he (Shāh 'Ālam) would arrange that the king should give every satisfaction that His Majesty could desire.

Aurangzeb wrote to his son that he required the death of the

[1] Narsapur, a town now in the British district of Rajahmundry, presidency of Madras, forty-eight miles south of Rajahmundry, lat. 16° 20′, long. 81° 47′ (Thornton, 685). Masulipatam lies on the same coast, lat. 16° 10′, long. 81° 13′ (*ibid.*, 605).

[2] The report of the capture of the city of Ḥaidarābād was received by Aurangzeb on the last day of Ẕu,l Qa'dah, 1096 H. (October 31, 1685) ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Alamgīrī,' 267), but the chronogram on p. 268 assigns it to 1097 H.

Brahmans, a large sum in money, jewels, elephants, and war materials, with a promise to give no more aid to Bījāpur. On receipt of this reply, Shāh 'Ālam opened negotiations with the King of Gulkandah. The latter continued to live in the fortress like a prisoner; and the first thing he did was to kill the Brahmans and fling them down from the fortress walls.[1] The King of Gulkandah conceded everything that Shāh 'Ālam asked for, and the latter gave his word that Aurangzeb, his father, would not break the peace. Thus did the poor King of Gulkandah become a petty prince. He attempted no farther to turn himself into a valiant warrior, but passed his time continuously in feasting among musicians and dancers. When matters had been arranged, Shāh 'Ālam retired into the province [233] of Cohir (Kohīr),[2] a distance of twenty leagues from Gulkandah, keeping in correspondence with this king, with whom he left an ambassador.

I GO TO GULKANDAH, AND FLEE ONCE MORE AS FAR AS MADRAS.

While Shāh 'Ālam was halted in that province (Kohīr) waiting for the receipt of the treasure, elephants, jewels, and war materials, in accordance with the treaty, he requested the king to have a search made for me and send me to him, as he wanted me. Horsemen were sent by the king to fetch me, with orders to the governors that if I refused to come willingly I was to be sent by force. The soldiers came upon me in Narsapur, and showed me the royal *farmān*, whereby the king recalled me to court on the pretext of continuing the treatment of his nephew. He promised me that whenever I wanted my liberty it should be given without difficulty.

[1] The head of Mādanā Brahman was sent in by Abu,l Ḥasan on the 1st Jamādā I. (March 26, 1686) ('M.-i-'Ā.,' 272). One of our illustrations is a portrait of Mādanā. D. Havart (pp. 219, 220, 224) has portraits of Mādanā (Sūraj Parkāsh) and Ākanā, also a fancy picture of their naked bodies being dragged through the streets.

[2] Kohīr, a place forty-eight to fifty miles west of Gulkandah (see the map in S. H. Bilgrami and C. Willmott's 'Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Nizam's Dominions,' 2 vols., Bombay, 1884). Shāh 'Ālam returned to court at Sholāpur on June 27, 1686 (25th Rajab) ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 274).

I could see quite well that there was no escape from going, for they would carry me off to the court whether I liked it or not. I therefore dissembled, and made display of goodwill and a desire to be of service to His Majesty. I mounted my horse and went with them, in all pomp and magnificence, until we got to Gulkandah. When I appeared to make my obeisance to the king, he declared himself pleased at my coming. Urgently I begged him, as I had come under protection of his word, not to deliver me into the hands of Shāh 'Ālam. By this he was somewhat disconcerted, and fixed my pay at seven hundred rupees a month. But I declared that I would not accept pay, that I meant to serve him for nothing. Nevertheless he sent seven hundred rupees to my abode, and while I was with him he ordered a set of robes to be conferred on me. He gave a private order to post a hundred horsemen in the street where I was staying to prevent anyone interfering with me.

For the envoy of Shāh 'Ālam, called Momencan (Mūmin Khān),[1] sought an opening for carrying me off to the prince. In addition to the guard of horsemen, Abu,l Ḥasan gave me over in charge to his *dīwān*, who was responsible for my personal safety. I began the treatment of his nephew once more, and remained two months in Gulkandah, by which time the patient had recovered. But I was obliged to seek safety in a secret flight. For the ambassador [234] of Shāh 'Ālam, when he was taking leave, once more tried to induce the king to make me over into his hands. He (the king) replied that if at his departure he carried me away with him, no one would come forward to defend me. For this purpose he ordered the withdrawal of the hundred horsemen placed as sentries to prevent interference with me.

This conversation was heard by one of the said ambassador's soldiers, who years before had come under an obligation to me for treating him in an illness, and he hurried to warn me of the ambassador's intentions. The information reached me when I was at cards, and suppressing my tribulation, I went on for a time with the game. I then went out and betook

[1] A Mū,min Khān is mentioned on p. 275 of the 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' year 1097 H. (1686), as being then in the service of Shāh 'Ālam.

myself to the house of the Dutch envoy, who was then Lourenço Pit,[1] and begged his assistance in this delicate situation. After that I sent for the Father Vicar of Gulkandah, named Frey Francisco, of the order of St. Augustin, and most urgently entreated him to see Rustam Rāo and procure leave to remove to Machhlīpatanam a brother of his called Augustinho, who had fallen ill.

I furnished him with this name so that, if asked for his invalid brother's name, he should be in no perplexity, and thereby avoid suspicion of there being some deceit. The arrangement succeeded perfectly, for the permit was obtained. I got into a palanquin and feigned to be unwell; and praise be to God! the spies never discovered me. Thus did I make my journey without the envoy of Shāh 'Ālam being aware of my departure. I went on until I arrived at Madrasta (Madras) or Fort St. George, which belongs to the English, and there I was free of all danger. My escape from Gulkandah was the cause of some discomfort to the king, for Shāh 'Ālam made great complaint of his want of energy in arresting me; but he knew quite well that by that time I was no longer in Gulkandah. Still, he made various searches, and in the end sent Rustam Rāo as a prisoner into the fortress because he had issued the permit for my departure. The prisoner was forced to pay fifty thousand rupees, which were forwarded to Shāh 'Ālam as a present to procure pardon for the fault of the king's officer [235].

My Arrival in Madras and Marriage.

On my arrival in Madras the Portuguese gentlemen, who knew the zeal with which I had worked for their nation at Goa, came to see me. They congratulated me on my arrival, and

[1] This is Laurens Pit the younger, who was Dutch chief—first at Palicāt, near Madras, and then at Negapatam—in 1688-1693. He captured Pondicherry from the French in the latter year. He was sent up to Gulkandah in 1686 (see Dubois, 'Vies des Gouverneurs Généraux,' p. 246). The 'Sieur Pite (or Pitre) of Bremen,' met at Palicāt in 1652 by Tavernier (Ball's edition, i. 268), must be the father, who was also a Dutch Company's official. There is a full account of L. Pit the younger's embassy to Gulkandah in D. Havart, 'Op en Ondergang van Coromandel,' 1693, part ii., 154-164. There are also plates of his entry in state on March 26, and of his audience with King Abu,l Ḥasan on April 3, 1686. He left Gulkandah on June 4.

offered their services in whatever way would be of use to me. Such help they would give most willingly. But I was all anxiety to see Senhor Francisco Martim (François Martin),[1] Director-General of the Royal Company of France, who had come back to Pudichery (Pondicherry) from Sūrat. I got into a palanquin and went off to visit him, where I was well received and well entertained for several days. He gave me the advice not to return to Europe, but to marry in India. He informed me of a lady born in India, but of good English Catholic parents. She lived in Madrastapataõ (Madras), and her name was Senhora Ilizabet Ihardili (? Elizabeth Hartley), legitimate daughter of Mestre (Mr.) Christovaõ Ihardili (? Christopher Hartley), president of Machhlīpatanam, and of Donna Aguida Pereyra, a Portuguese lady. At that time the lady Ilizabet Ihardili was the widow of Mr. Thomas Klark (Clarke), an English Catholic; he was a judge, and second at the station of Madras.[2]

This is what I was told by Monsieur the General, confirmed by some Capuchin friars, and thus I began to relinquish the idea of going back to Europe. For, as they told me, having become accustomed to the climate and the food of India, and being already advanced in age, I should not last very long in Europe. Thus I quitted Pondicherry and returned to Madras, meaning to find out the intentions of the said lady. There I arrived at the end of June in one thousand six hundred and eighty-six; and I talked with the well-known fathers Zenaõ (Zenon) and Ephrem Ephraim),[3] Capuchins, and apostolic

[1] François Martin (born at Paris, 1634; died at Pondicherry December, 1706) had come back from Sūrat in this year (1686). He reached Pondicherry on May 20 (MS. 'Mémoires de François Martin, 1664-1694,' fol. 401, Archives Nationales, Paris, Série T,* 1169).

[2] 'Fort St. George,' by Mrs. Frank Penny, pp. 13, 191. Thomas Clarke, junior, died October 6, 1683. His tombstone has a Latin inscription, and a coat of arms with crest. He was interpreter to the Company, and his father had been chief at Machhlīpatanam.

[3] Father Zenon, Capuchin, a native of Baugé, near Angers, went to Madras in 1642 with Father Ephraim, of Nevers. Zenon is mentioned several times by Tavernier, edition Ball, i. 209, 224, 225-233, 269. He was also De la Boullaye le Gouz's travelling companion on his first visit to India. Le Gouz was also from Baugé. Ephraim's appointment as Catholic chaplain in Madras, dated June 8, 1642, is set forth in Father Norbert's 'Mémoires Utiles et Nécessaires . . .' (Lucca, 1742), p. 95.

missionaries in Madras, otherwise Fort St. George. They were aware of the virtues and sound doctrine of the said lady, and they gave me such a good report of her qualities and virtues that I decided to marry. By the favour of God I was married on St. Simon's and St. Jude's Day of that same year (1686).[1]

I had a son, but God chose rather to make him an angel in Paradise than leave him to suffer in this world. In this way I was fixed to a residence in the said Fort St. George, where came many that knew me, or heard speak of me, in order to be treated. Among those who came was Rajah Champat,[2] son of Champat, Bundelah, who, as stated [236] in the First Part of my History (I. 186), was sacrificed by Aurangzeb as a foundation for his victories, in reward for having found him a route in his combat with Dārā.

Nor did Shāh 'Ālam fail to send in search of me in several directions, while the princess sent one who had formerly been my servant to seek me in Madras. She gave him as a present a dagger, which he sold to one of my friends for eight hundred *patacas* (Rs. 1,600). This she did only through her desire to know where I was, so that she might send to fetch me.

All my acquaintances know that very few months passed without gifts coming from the Mogul grandees, who gave me many presents, and sent to me patients of title and many others. Experience was my great teacher, whereby I had acquired several secrets, in which, it may be, I shall allow the world to participate, for I have no heir to whom to bequeath these treasures that preserve our bodily health. But among the others I may as well mention that I manufactured certain cordials regardless of expense, the same being wonderful in certain complaints, as many can testify. Yet it is only a short time ago that I began to distribute these cordials, for I have no wish to imitate those who, keener for others' gold than the health of their fellow-men, make up mixtures of various things and sell them as cordials. I did not begin to sell mine until

[1] St. Simon's and St. Jude's Day is October 28.

[2] The correct name is Dalpat Rāo, Rajah of Datiyā in Bundelkhand (see Part III., f. 198, under year 1690). He was not the son of Champat, but of Subhkaran, Bundelah.

experience had taught me that the purchasers would not be cheated. My residence in Madras will offer no prejudice to the continuation of my History, for, besides the spies I employed, the nobles were pleased to forward me news of what took place in the camp.

Capture of Bījāpur and Imprisonment of the King.

It is now time for us to begin talking of the war with Bījāpur. Aurangzeb, finding that he could not come easily to a settlement with Bījāpur, made for that reason a peace with Gulkandah. He then went with his whole army to the conquest of a kingdom which he had already pillaged, taking from it little by little, as I have said (II. 174), strong places, revenues, and *matériel* of war. Thus Secander (Sikandar), a youth of fifteen,[1] the last King of Bījāpur, was forced to seek shelter in the fortress there with not more than twelve thousand soldiers. Aurangzeb appeared before it with his whole army [237], and, encircling the city, forced it to surrender when all provisions had been exhausted.

It was his misfortune that Xaabudican (Shahāb-ud-dīn Khān),[2] Aurangzeb's general, of whom I shall have to speak again (II. 239, 240), seized the supplies of coin and provisions which were on their way from Shāh 'Ālam's trenches to the fortress. For this prince was not pleased at the King of Bījāpur losing his liberty and his kingdom. But when Aurangzeb heard of this attempt he drew his lines still closer, and thus Sikandar in one thousand six hundred and eighty-six delivered himself up to Aurangzeb, who kept him captive in his camp. This concession was made because he was still only a boy, and of the same religion as himself.

With this event came to an end the Kings of Bījāpur, but it

1 Compare Fryer, 'Account of India,' edition of 1873, p. 406, where he says Sikandar was scarce ten (in 1675).

2 This must be Mīr Shahāb-ud-dīn (1649-1710), whose first title was Shahāb-ud-dīn Khān. Afterwards, on the 15th Muḥarram, 1095 H. (January 2, 1684), he was made Ghāzī-ud-dīn Khān. He was the father of Niẓām-ul-Mulk, Āṣaf Jāh, of Ḥaidarābād (died 1748). The incident as to the seizure of supplies sent to Bījāpur by Shāh 'Ālam is historical (see Yaḥyā Khān's 'Tazkirat-ul-Mulūk').

must be noted that Sikandar was not of the ancient royal family,[1] for his father was no son of the king, only a servant of the queen's. When she became a widow, the king having left no sons she made this servant of hers king, so that she might have liberty to move about as she pleased. Four times did her devotion take her to Mecca, and here happened what may not secure the belief of readers, but it is very certain that it occurred as I state it.

When she arrived the first time at Mecca and requested to be admitted, they refused permission as she was a widow; for no one may enter who is not married.[2] In order that those not married may marry, there stand at the gates old men and old women, boys and girls, ready to marry the unmarried. But the queen declined to marry in this way, there being no one there of her rank. After a good deal of talk to the holy men, they invented a remedy by making a ridiculous marriage, taking a nice little sum as bribe for doing it. They married her (who will believe it?) to a cock, which she carried in her arms to the tomb of Muḥammad. In this way she was able to pay her devotions, leaving the judicious to laugh at and wonder over the foolishness and madness of those holy men. They displayed this subtlety and power of refining in the interpretation of their books simply on hearing the rattling of *patacas* and rupees. For it being stated in their books of ceremonial that no one can enter the sepulchre of Muḥammad without being

[1] Bījāpur was taken on the 30th Ẕu,l Qaʻdah of the thirtieth year (October 18, 1686) ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' p. 279). 'Ṣaid-i-Sikandar girift' is a chronogram for it. Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh, son of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, son of Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh, the ninth and last Sovereign of Bījāpur, after a lapse of fifteen (lunar) years from his deposition, died in Aurangzeb's camp in 1112 H. (June 17, 1700, to June 7, 1701) ('Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī').

[2] As to any such law or rule, there is no evidence. Through the kindness of Mr. G. P. Devey, H.B.M.'s Consul at Jeddah, I have been favoured with a valuable note by the Vice-Consul, Dr. S. M. Ḥusain. The story must have been invented out of two facts: (1) That a woman on pilgrimage must have a *maḥram*, or guardian, a father, brother, husband, son, or some relation within the prohibited degrees; (2) that the habit of divorce is much more frequent at Mecca than elsewhere in Islām. The first point is borne out by Hadji Khān, M.R.A.S., 'With the Pilgrims to Mecca,' 1905, pp. 32, 94, and the second can be gathered from Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje's 'Bilder aus Mekka,' 4to., Leiden, 1880.

married, they got hold of this grand and famous device of a marriage with a cock! [Here a coarse, abusive sentence is omitted.]

The campaigns against Bījāpur began from one thousand six hundred and seventy, and [238] lasted until this year (? 1686). At the commencement of the war, when the men of Bījāpur caught any unhappy persons belonging to the Moguls who had gone out to cut grass or collect straw or do some other service, they did not kill them but cut off their noses. Thus they came back into the camp all bleeding. The surgeons belonging to the country cut the skin of the forehead above the eyebrows, and made it fall down over the wounds on the nose. Then, giving it a twist so that the live flesh might meet the other live surface, by healing applications they fashioned for them other imperfect noses. There is left above, between the eyebrows, a small hole, caused by the twist given to the skin to bring the two live surfaces together. In a short time the wounds heal up, some obstacle being placed beneath to allow of respiration. I saw many persons with such noses, and they were not so disfigured as they would have been without any nose at all, but they bore between their eyebrows the mark of the incision.

The March against Gulkandah; the Imprisonment of Shah 'Ālam and his Family.

Aurangzeb was pleased at having overcome the kingdom of Bījāpur, partly by arms, partly by deceit. It was a realm in which the ancient kings kept up ordinarily fifty thousand horsemen. Already he (Aurangzeb) found his projects half executed, and imagined he could now move forward without obstacle to the destruction of Sambhā Jī; for all that remained was to capture Gulkandah and seize the king.

This he purposed, although very little time had elapsed since, in pursuance of his orders, Shāh 'Ālam had made peace with that king. Little did he care about that, it being his maxim to keep neither his own nor another's word, so long as he succeeded in his desires. For this reason, even when Bījāpur was taken,

he did not go into quarters; on the contrary, he set his army in motion against Gulkandah.

The prince Shāh 'Ālam was much hurt that his father, for no reason at all, should break the treaty of peace which by his order had been concluded with Gulkandah, and in the end he complained to his father. He said the world would wonder that so great a king should pay no heed to the promises made by his son and heir. He therefore entreated him to abandon this intention of his, for the King of Gulkandah [239] was quite helpless, and could not impede His Majesty's projects against Sambhā Jī.

Aurangzeb had resented greatly this prince's want of effort when trying to take Goa, which he might easily have achieved, and was also turned against him by his having sent off supplies to the King of Bījāpur, as I have stated (II. 237). He also feared that the prince, to revenge himself on his father for breaking without cause the peace with Gulkandah, might send some succour in secret to that king. Aurangzeb therefore determined to make Shāh 'Ālam a prisoner.

Some scent of this resolve of Aurangzeb was perceptible, and Shāh 'Ālam's eldest son, called Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-dīn, wanted to end the business by killing his grandfather. But though he was a resolute young man, he would not do it without communicating with his father. He quoted to him as a precedent how his grandfather had not spared his brothers nor his father, nor Sulṭān Muḥammad (his son). Equally they ought not to spare him, for he had fallen short in his behaviour to the King of Gulkandah. But Shāh 'Alam, a benign and tender-hearted prince, forbade any such attempt, saying that he had no wish to leave such a bad example to posterity.

Aurangzeb, the cunning fox, concealed his intentions by causing the preparation of several caparisoned elephants, and many gifts, robes of honour, arms, and horses, and he let it be spread abroad that he was going back to Hindūstān. He would leave his son, Shāh 'Ālam, as lord of the Dakhin, and he might then deal with the King of Gulkandah as he thought fit. All this he did in order not to displease his son, who was in low spirits. He also professed to be broken, as it were, by

the marches and fatigues of so many campaigns, and meant at last to take repose, and leave what had yet to be done to his sons.

Shāh 'Ālam was informed of his father's talk, and in a few days the camp was full of such rumours; thus the prince remained satisfied, not knowing that he was on the edge of the abyss. For these purposes the army halted some days. One day Aurangzeb gave a secret order to Shahāb-ud-dīn Khān and Asad Khān, the chief ministers, to remain in the council-chamber. When Shāh 'Ālam arrived, they were to disarm him. After this he sent at once for the prince, everybody imagining he was called inside to receive robes of honour and promotion.

Therefore the prince came joyfully, hoping to see carried out his wish [240] of preserving peace with Gulkandah, while he would become lord of the Dakhin. He entered the royal tent, but on seeing him, Aurangzeb prevented his approach by saying at once with simulated joy: 'Shāh 'Ālam, Bahādur! Retire into the privy chamber and take council with my ministers as to what has to be done; they await you.' Hardly had the prince reached the designated room, when Shahāb-ud-dīn Khān and Asad Khān, accompanied by the other ministers, told him it was the order of the *Bādshāh* (that is, 'emperor'), Aurangzeb the Great, that he deliver up his arms. He knew well it was useless to resist; undoing his sword and pulling his *kaṭṭārī* (dagger) from his waist, he let the whole fall to the ground.

While Shāh 'Ālam went into the inner room, Aurangzeb sent for Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-dīn, eldest son of Shāh 'Ālam, as I said above, and he, believing it to be a fortunate day, appointed for the distribution of robes of honour, came with great delight, but hardly had he entered the presence of that schemer than he was treated the same as his father. Before he could get close Aurangzeb said to his grandson, with haste, as if relying on his judgment: 'Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-dīn! Go into that adjoining chamber, where your father and the ministers are waiting for you to hold a council and decide what ought to be done.'

The prince went in with great vivacity, being then arrived at twenty years of age. When he had entered, the ministers said

to him what they had said to Shāh 'Alam. But he was of another temper, and would not yield readily; grasping his sword, he turned his eyes towards his father, waiting for such orders as he might give. But the prudent Shāh 'Ālam told him that it was no longer a time to hope: let him unbuckle his sword and deliver up his arms, for it was necessary to obey. Then Mu'izz-ud-dīn, lowering his eyes, full of tears of rage, allowed his sword and dagger to fall to the ground.

When this had been carried out, Aurangzeb sent a messenger for Sulṭān 'Azimudin ('Aẓīm-ud-dīn), and dealt with him in the same manner; so also with Sulṭān Daulat-Afzā. Orders were issued to place the father and the sons in different prisons under strict watch and ward, so that they could send no messages, nor for seven years were they left with more than a small knife.[1]

During this period of imprisonment Daulat Afzā died.[2] There remained the little princes, named Rafia Elcader (Rafī'-ul-qadr) and Coja Sactar (Khujistah-Akhtar), and these were placed in a separate prison together, so that they might play with each other. Afterwards the order was given that the women of Shāh 'Ālam, of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-dīn, and of all the family should be removed to the fortress of Āgrah, to the house of the widows.[3] The treasure and the rest of the wealth [241] in the prince's house were appropriated, including a large sum in *pagodas*,[4] coinage of the kings of Gulkandah and Bījāpur.

[1] Khāfī Khān, ii. 332, assigns these arrests to the 17th Rabī' II. of the twenty-ninth year, 1097 H. (March 13, 1686, N.S.). But, according to the 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' where the chronology is more reliable, it must be put in the thirtieth year. On p. 293 a friend of Shāh 'Ālām is expelled from camp on the 18th Shawwāl of the thirtieth year, 1097 H. Then, on p. 294, follows Shāh 'Ālām's arrest, and on p. 295 the thirty-first year (1st Ramaẓān, 1098 H.) begins. Thus the arrests, if made on the 17th Rabī' II., fell in the year 1098 H. (thirtieth year), and not in 1097 H. (twenty-ninth year)—that is, they took place on March 2, 1687, N.S.

[2] Daulat Afzā died on the last day of Ṣafar, 1100 H. (December 24, 1688, N.S.), aged nineteen lunar years, seven months, and some days ('Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī,' and 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 314).

[3] The *Suhāg-khānah*, one of the imperial *Kārkhānahs*, or establishments.

[4] *Pagoda*, a coin long current in Southern India, generally of gold. In 1818 it was reckoned as worth three and a half rupees (Yule, 653).

Shāh 'Alam decided to play a game of finesse, and shortly after his imprisonment he said to his guards that he was willing to show his obedience to his father, and that he took no offence at what had been done. They went off to inform Aurangzeb of his son's words. The king smiled and sent him food, which Shāh 'Ālam ate as if such an affront as imprisonment did not matter to him. But afterwards food was so sparingly supplied that it was grievous to see princes of such high lineage treated in such a manner. When they marched with the camp, they appeared like shadows, devoid of all ornament and without spirit, shut up in litters put on elephants, and without retinue, just like ordinary prisoners.

Of them all he who felt the imprisonment most was Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-dīn. His room being close to the royal audience-hall, he used, on the days when Aurangzeb was distributing justice, to shout his complaints as a demonstration against the injustice of his grandfather, who conformed neither to the rights of humanity nor followed the Qurān. So troublesome was he, that Aurangzeb was obliged to send him to another room farther away from the audience-hall.

Capture of Gulkandah.

When the King of Gulkandah heard the above news, he recognised at once that his affairs were in a bad way. He attempted through his envoys to placate Aurangzeb, and requested him not to make war, for he was ready to obey orders and look on himself as in the position of any other governor, and would hold Gulkandah in that way only. Aurangzeb sent him a message that he might take his ease; his territory would be spared. Aurangzeb only meant to march to Calbargue (Kulbargah),[1] a burial-place of saints, to offer up prayers and implore their protection.

The King of Gulkandah assumed that Aurangzeb was telling the truth, and sent him five lakhs of rupees to be distributed to

[1] In the Nizām's territory, lat. 17° 19′, long. 76° 51′ (Bilgrami and Willmott, ii. 631). The shrines are those of Banda Nawāz or Gīsū-darāz (died 1422), Rukn-ud-dīn, and Sirāj-ud-dīn.

the poor present at the said shrines. Aurangzeb took the money, and instead of moving in the direction of the shrines, came straight at Gulkandah. The king might have come forth with the thirty thousand horsemen he had, and taking the field, could have blocked the roads and contended for victory. But such was his fear and dread that he retired [242] into the fortress with such soldiers as chose to follow him.

Aurangzeb was informed of this retreat, and at once felt happy in having got the rat in a trap. He ordered Shahāb-ud-dīn Khān to march with all haste before the king could adopt any other plan; and after him was sent A'ẓam Tārā[1] to invest the fortress, Aurangzeb advancing behind that prince more leisurely himself. On reaching the spot, the Mogul forces seized the city, and appointed officials on Aurangzeb's behalf. That king, when he arrived, wanted to draw up near the fortress. But the Christians in the Gulkandah service fired on him from a culverine, which had once on a time been at San Thome. Their shot fell so near his horse that he determined not to run such great risk, and moved farther off.

The Moguls pressed the fortress hard. But those inside it defended themselves so valorously that the besiegers were forced to lay mines and blow up two of the bastions. Several assaults were delivered, but Abdul Razac ('Abd-ur-razzāq) defended the place so valiantly that they could never effect an entrance. At length by promises and gratuities they brought over some of the officers and soldiers, and finally the garrison was reduced to a few men. Thus the besiegers found their way in and destroyed the small force left with 'Abd-ur-razzāq, who fell after receiving eighteen wounds. His soldiers fled, some hither, some thither; while Shahāb-ud-dīn went on to the palace and brought forth the dishonoured king by force, the palace resounding with the shrieks of the women.[2]

It was sad to see this king carried off upon an elephant openly. He was removed to the tent of Prince A'ẓam Tārā,

[1] A'ẓam Tārā, the title of A'ẓam Shāh, Aurangzeb's second surviving son; also known as A'lā Jāh.

[2] Gulkandah was taken on the 24th Ẕu,l Qa'dah, 1098 H. (October 1, 1687, N.S.) ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' p. 299).

where he was kept waiting for more than an hour in the sun until the prince awoke. As the heat was very great, he asked a man who was distributing water, as is the custom among the Mahomedans, for charity's sake to favour him with a vessel of water to drink. The kind-hearted man was about to comply, when the armed men round the elephant interposed, saying that prisoners were not allowed to drink without the leave of their captors. But at the entreaty of others they permitted him in the end to drink. I know not if there could be greater misery for a king than to be unable even to drink water when absolutely necessary.

The prince awoke, and a report was made to him of the prisoner's arrival. He ordered him to be brought before him, and there, after the necessary obeisances, he fell at the prince's feet. But A'ẓam Tārā raised him and made him sit opposite him. Everybody else was made to retire and they held a conversation together. On this occasion the King of Gulkandah made a present to A'ẓam Tārā of a bag of diamonds [243], among which, as was presumed, there was a diamond weighing two *patacas*, and as broad as one; thus it by itself was a very great treasure. On finishing the conversation, both rose, and A'ẓam Tārā, seating the captive at his side on his elephant, carried him off to the king's court. There A'ẓam Tārā dismounted, leaving the prisoner on the elephant without any shade, until Aurangzeb ordered him to be removed to a prison separate from that of the King of Bījāpur.

Here even the affronts put upon the wretched King of Gulkandah did not finish; for that kingdom being very rich by reason of its diamond mines, Aurangzeb sent to ask where his treasures were. The prisoner replied that there were now no treasures in Gulkandah, for he had dissipated them. Aurangzeb was not satisfied with this answer, and once more sent to ask how he had spent them. He might have sent back to say that little by little His Majesty had removed them. But looking on himself not as a captive, but as a king only, he answered that he had expended them as a sovereign, and had no account to render to anyone of what he did when king.

This answer was brought to Aurangzeb, who in his pride

expected all the world to bow the head before him and speak as captives, and he used this opening to further molest a king, who, entirely through negligence and devotion to women and musicians, had lost a kingdom. He ordered the same question to be put once more, and, should the same answer be returned, the king was to be beaten. Thus it came to pass. For on hearing the old question put on behalf of Aurangzeb, he replied that he had spent the treasures as the absolute master which he then was; nor was he under obligation to account to anyone for the manner, the cause, the object, or the time of his expending them.

Hardly were the words out of his mouth when the officials beat him unmercifully, and told him it was great temerity on the part of a prisoner to reply with such haughtiness to such a great conqueror as Aurangzeb, at whose name he ought to tremble and bow his head. On the order, accompanied by the above message, having been complied with, Aurangzeb directed his removal to the fortress of Daulatābād. It is a close prison on a great eminence.[1]

Thus ended the Kings of Gulkandah in one thousand six hundred and eighty-seven in the month of February; and to show more strongly how little he esteemed that family, Aurangzeb married two of this king's daughters to two of his officials [244].

The victorious Aurangzeb, puffed up at the conquest of two kingdoms, was pleased to leave in Bījāpur and Gulkandah two governors. He now ordered a march against Sambhā Jī, supposing it would be easy to destroy this prince, whose country was now surrounded by provinces and kingdoms belonging to the Mogul.

The march began, he taking with him the imprisoned princes, and in the rear of everybody came the King of Bījāpur. On the way he sent Muḥammad Ibrāhīm as viceroy to Lāhor,[2] as a

[1] On Aurangzeb's arrival at Bījāpur, 14th Rabī' I., thirty-first year, 1099 H. (February 18, 1688), Ab,ul Ḥasan was sent to Daulatābād ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 309).

[2] Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, entitled Mahābat Khān, one of the greatest 'Ālamgīrī nobles, died in 1100 H. (1688-89), while Ṣūbahdār of Lāhor. He was formerly at Ḥaidarābād as *generalissimo* of Abu,l Ḥasan, and there held the title of Khalīlullah

demonstration of his having approved his treason. But as experience teaches, princes delight in getting men to act treasonably to their profit, but have no joy afterwards in keeping the traitors about their own person. Furthermore, Aurangzeb was accustomed to pay any traitors who helped him in his enterprises by shortening their life. Thus he did not spare Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, who, before he arrived at Lāhor, ended his life with the pangs of poison. In the same way he rewarded the other officers, to whom he had promised various offices. Some he made away with, others he dispersed in different places; the soldiers of Bījāpur and Gulkandah were also disbanded. God made use of this very expedient of Aurangzeb's to counteract his projects. In disbanding the soldiers of those other kingdoms, he imagined he was making his future enterprises a certainty. But Sambhā Jī was thereby only rendered the more powerful; for although he had no sufficient resources to entertain so many men, he welcomed all who resorted to him, and in place of pay allowed them to plunder wherever they pleased.

In this way, before Aurangzeb could inflict any harm, he himself was much injured, these soldiers stopping the supplies for the royal camp, seizing camels, horses, and mules, killing everybody they came across, and sparing only those horses which could be of use to them in war. If by chance they captured any grandee, they kept him till they could extract from him a handsome ransom, and then they liberated him. So abundant were the goods they seized that they set up markets, where the owners came to redeem their property. Thus these plunderers acquired pay enough, and were able to continue the campaign.

In spite of all his huge army, Aurangzeb found that he could not by force of arms accomplish his purpose; for Sambhā Jī continuously evaded giving battle in the field, and was satisfied with plundering everywhere, never remaining many days in the

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Khān ('Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī'; see also 'Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' iii. 627). His nickname was *qimār-bāz*, the gambler. His seal bore the lines:

'Zi iltafāt-i-pādshāh wa paṇḍit-i-roshan-rawān
Gasht Ibrāhīm-i-sar-i-lashkar Khalīlullah Khān.'

same place. Relying on the activity of his horses, already trained to go long distances and eat little, he wore out [245] and incommoded the Mogul commanders and soldiers. Aurangzeb became aware that he would never succeed in this campaign, except by his usual intrigues. He therefore set to work, and wrote letters to Cabcales (Kab Kalish), the chief minister of Sambhā Jī, and by large bribes and presents so far succeeded, that this minister undertook to make over Sambhā Jī to him alive.

CAPTURE OF SAMBHĀ JĪ.

It has been said that custom becomes nature; and a man accustomed to any vice cannot, even when he would, free himself from the tendency that by repeated acts he has contracted. Thus was it with Sambhā Jī. Habituated to interfering with other men's wives, now when it had become necessary to act the hero, he could not rid himself of his perverse inclinations. This was the cause of his losing liberty and life. Kab Kalish availed himself of this evil propensity to deliver him into the hands of Aurangzeb.

He told Sambhā Jī that two leagues away there was a village where abode a lovely married woman. This was enough. Sambhā Jī resolved to halt at this place, in order to secure his impure desires. As soon as Kab Kalish knew his master's resolve, he warned Aurangzeb to send at once five thousand horsemen, and without fail Sambhā Jī would fall into his power. The eager king did not fail to send the soldiers, who awaited in ambush the coming of Sambhā Jī. The latter quitted his soldiers, and followed by a few men, came to meet his doom. Before he had reached the village in question, he found himself encircled by his enemies, who took him and carried him away to the camp of Aurangzeb.[1]

Let the reader hear how this king rewarded those who had worked in his favour. The first to pay for the capture of Sambhā Jī was the selfsame Kab Kalish, who by a horrible

[1] Orme, 'Historical Fragments,' 1805, pp. 162, 163, confirms this account in its outlines. But probably he only copied Catrou, 182—that is, Manucci at second hand.

death proclaimed to all the world the barbarity of the man who had already drunk so much blood, as may be seen from the rest of my history. Aurangzeb ordered that the tongue should be pulled out by the roots from the throat of the traitorous Kab Kalish, so that he might be unable to state that this great treason had been plotted at his (Aurangzeb's) instigation.

What could Sambhā Jī hope for when his first minister, against whom the war had not been waged, came to such a miserable end! He well understood that death must be the end of all his [246] doings. But he did not foresee the mockery he should have to suffer before he died. Aurangzeb ordered him to be bound strongly upon a camel, and on his head was placed a long cap covered with little bells and rattles.[1] This was meant for mockery of the Hindū princes and the Brahmans, who usually wear pointed caps, but without rattles. The licentious man having been thus bound, Aurangzeb directed that he should be paraded through the camp. The camel was made to run, so that the rattles made a great noise and aroused everyone's curiosity, and thus men issued from their tents to see who it was coming. In the course of the procession they made the camel turn from time to time with such suddenness, that the person on it looked as if he must fall from the various movements he made, but the cords with which he was bound prevented it and at the same time wearied him out. Finally, when the perambulation of the royal camp had been completed, the tyrant ordered him to be dragged into his presence. When there he ordered his side to be cloven open with an axe and his heart to be extracted. The body was then flung on a

[1] The account of the capture (thirty-second year, 1100 H.), as given in the 'Ma‚āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 320, is as follows: Shekh Niẓām (Muqarrab Khān) was sent against Fort Parnālah. He heard Sambhā Jī was going from Raheri to Fort Khelnah to attack the Bairāgīs (a class of *faqīrs*), with whom he had a quarrel. Sambhā Jī was at Sangamner. The Khān advanced from Sholāpur, forty-five *kos* off, by a forced march. Sambhā Jī was warned, but merely scoffed. A fight took place, when Kab Kalish was shot with an arrow and captured. Sambhā Jī hid in Kab Kalish' house and was caught there. The capture was reported to Aurangzeb at Akloj (renamed Sa'dnagar). Orme, 'Historical Fragments,' edition 1805, p. 164, also mentions the binding on a camel, and the parading round the camp with rattle and bells. But probably Orme got it from Manucci viâ Catrou, p. 184.

dunghill and abandoned to the tender mercies of the dogs. Thus did the licentious Sambhā Jī pay for interfering with others.[1]

It seemed as if the death of Sambhā Jī was bound to secure Aurangzeb's lordship over all the lands of Hindūstān down to the sea. But the commanders of valorous Shivā Jī, father of this unfortunate man, were by this time practised in fighting the Moguls, and expert in the way of dealing with those foreigners (? Persians and Central Asians) who deserted from his side. They determined to continue the campaign and uphold the cause of Rām Rājā, younger brother of the deceased. Therefore they took him out of prison and made him their prince.

This determination caused a revolution in the principality, for the mother[2] of Sambhā Jī, who had sons by her husband, claimed the government during the minority of those sons. She asserted that the crown belonged to them; but the commanders turned a deaf ear and sided with Rāma Rājā,[3] or, to adopt the usual way of speaking, of the newly selected Shivā Jī. In this way the princess was forced to have recourse to the Mogul, to whom she delivered herself up and her sons, along with over twenty-two forts, in this way taking the nerve out of her competitors.

It seemed as if now the matter was decided, for the princess had a number of leading officers on her side. Aurangzeb detained the princess in his [247] camp, and sent to take possession in his own name of the ceded forts. He also ordered out a large force against the fort of Parnalaguer (Parnālagaṛh), a fortress defending the frontier of Bījāpur.[4] It is placed

[1] Sambhā Jī: according to the 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' pp. 320-326, the capture was made on the 4th Rabī' I. of the thirty-second year, 1100 H. (December 28, 1688, N.S.). He arrived in the imperial camp on the 10th Jamādā (March 3, 1689), and his execution took place on the 21st or 28th Jamādā I. (March 14 or 21, 1689, N.S.).

[2] For 'mother,' I think we ought to read 'wife.'

[3] Rājā Rām, usually styled Rām Rājā, son of Shivā Jī by another wife, was born about 1670, and died in March, 1700. Sambhā Jī left three sons; the eldest, Sāhū, was born in 1684, and died in 1750.

[4] Panālah, or Parnāla, is, according to Grant-Duff, p. 62, 'in the Kolhapur district.' Orme, 'Historical Fragments,' 1805, speaks of it as 'one of the strongest forts in the Concan.' Probably it is the same as the Parnala of Tieffenthaler (Bernouilli, i. 362, with a plate), a fort on a hill.

on an eminence and is very strong, and once before this time Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-dīn, when attacking it, had been so badly repulsed by the bravery of its garrison that he was obliged to retreat for twenty-four hours without a halt, through fear of the enemy who were at his heels.

This force went against the fortress, but Shivā Jī (= Rām Rājā) never ceased rushing about everywhere with the officers who sided with him, and everywhere succeeded in his enterprises. Finally, when the Mogul army was scattered, he came and occupied the fortress of Gingi (Jinjī)[1] in the Choromandel Karnātik, and there fixing himself, his faithful captains did not fail to operate with energy. Then, to get rid of a stone of stumbling and give an opening for those who had deserted the princess (Sambhā Jī's widow) to take up the cause of Shivā Jī (*i.e.*, Rām Rājā), they played off an imposture on the impostor, and paid out the old fox with cunning equal to his own.

The affair happened in this way. The officers at the fortress of Parnālagaṛh saw that Aurangzeb's force, though it had no intention of raising the investment, yet could not take the fortress, which was too well provisioned. Accordingly they sent envoys to inform Aurangzeb of their willingness to surrender the fortress, finding he was so tenacious about acquiring it. But they desired to deliver it into the hands of the princess and her sons, if she would come in person to take possession. The victor imagined they were speaking the truth, and sent Sambhā Jī's family to the said fortress along with the princess [except the eldest son, whom he detained as a prisoner].[2]

Upon their arrival there was a great festival and much rejoicing. But before giving up the fortress they asked that, according to custom, they might issue invitations for some days' festivity. This being a very reasonable request, the officers of Aurangzeb made no difficulties in conceding it. The entertainments began with a great banquet, Shivā Jī's officers going out and in. On the third day they mixed so much poison

1 Grant-Duff, 163, 164. Rājā Rām escaped to Jinjī in 1690.

2 The words in brackets have been added in French in the margin.

with the food that before the fourth day dawned the princess, her sons, and many of Aurangzeb's officers were dead.[1]

Next morning the officers and soldiers issued from the fortress and fell upon the enemy's force with such valour and vigour that their army was routed, being deprived of its officers (as it was) and quite unsuspicious. The tents and treasure were appropriated. Aurangzeb was much concerned at this trick, but to repent himself of having believed them was now too late; and this deed [248] was a reason for many of the officers in the princess's faction declaring themselves once more enemies of the Mogul. They joined Shivā Jī (Rām Rājā), and thus in one thousand six hundred and eighty-nine the war recommenced with greater fury. It was not enough for Aurangzeb to have made himself master of Bījāpur and of Gulkandah; he must needs oppress a little prince, who yet was strong enough to compel so potent a king to remain away from his kingdom (*i.e.*, Hindūstān) and dwell in camp merely to prevent the loss of his previous conquests.

AURANGZEB REMOVES THE EYES OF SHAHĀB-ŪD-DĪN KHĀN.

This was the time at which Aurangzeb, seeing Sambhā Jī was dead and the princes delivered into his hands, imagined he no longer needed his generals. Therefore he sent for the great Shahāb-ūd-dīn Khān, who was away elsewhere on a campaign against Shivā Jī. But this general, who now found himself great, rich, and beloved by all the soldiers and captains, answered that his presence was necessary for the reduction of a fortress called Adūnī.[2]

Aurangzeb was afraid that this general meant to attempt some plot, and after two or three letters recalling him to court, finding he made excuses, he sent him one more letter directing

[1] This is quite unhistorical. The princess, Sambhā Jī's widow, and her younger children remained prisoners until 1719, while Sāhū, the eldest son, was released in 1707.

[2] Adūnī is in the Ballārī district, lat. 15° 38′, long. 77° 20′. The fort was taken by Tippū, and dismantled in 1786. Khān Bahādur, Fīroz Jang (Shahāb-ud-dīn), was sent against Adūnī in the thirty-first year, 1099 H. (between January and June, 1688). It was taken on the 18th Shawwāl of the thirty-second year, 1099 H. (August 7, 1688) ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 308, 316).

him to return absolutely. On reading the said letter, this famous general's eyes began to drop blood, whereby he became blind.[1] Nor were the remedies of any avail that were sent him by the selfsame Aurangzeb to be applied to his eyes; for he had found by this time that he wanted him, since Shivā Jī (*i.e.*, the Mahrattahs) had deceived him in the matter of Parnālagaṛh, which he had reckoned on getting. His repentance was somewhat tardy, for already the general had become blind, remaining so to the end of his life, and he could not, for want of sight, continue his deeds of valour and good judgment.[2]

It is fitting for me to say here that I know no one who can boast of having attained to perfect trust in the administration of Aurangzeb, unless it be Asad Khān,[3] he who was faithful to Shāhjahān, and is a loyal minister to this same Aurangzeb. Up to this day he prospers; but we can only judge finally after his death. This noble will indeed be a phœnix in the reign of Aurangzeb, whose renown others may recount hereafter, if he ends his life felicitously [249].

As Aurangzeb wanted to catch the lion's whelp before he grew up, he sent an army into the Choromandal Karnātik to prevent Shivā Jī's [*i.e.*, Rām Rājā's] departure from Jinjī.[4] He hoped to destroy him within that great fortress. For this purpose he sent Julfecercan (Ẕu,lfiqār Khān), son of Asad Khān, and other commanders; but Shivā Jī being well

1 In the 'Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' ii. 872, it is stated that Ghāzī-ud-dīn Khān (Mīr Shahāb-ud-dīn), Fīroz Jang, became blind from plague in the thirty-second year of 'Ālamgīr, 1100 H. (1688-89). The author of that book vehemently denies a story then current that 'Ālamgīr persuaded the physicians to put out Fīroz Jang's sight.

2 This statement is quite mistaken. Ghāzī-ud-dīn Khān remained in active employment till his death, about 1710; the only difference made was his being excused from appearing in *darbār*.

3 Asad Khān and his son, being Persians, were used by Aurangzeb as a counterpoise to Ghāzī-ud-dīn Khān and his relations, who were Mughals from Bukhārā. Asad Khān remained chief minister to the end of the reign (1707), surviving Aurangzeb for ten years. His son was Amīr-ul-umarā, or second minister, to Bahādur Shāh, Shāh 'Ālam (1707-1712), and chief minister to Jahāndār Shāh (1712). Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, Asad Khān, subsequently Amīr-ul-umarā, and then Āṣaf-ud-daulah, died on the 25th Jamādā II., 1128 H. (June 17, 1716), at a great age.

4 Jinjī, lat. 12° 16′, long. 79° 27′, eighty-two miles south-west of Madras.

provisioned, Zu,lfiqār Khān could not accomplish his task. In writing his report to the king, he stated the necessity of reinforcements; therefore Aurangzeb sent his youngest son Kaembacx (Kām Bakhsh)[1] to command, accompanied by Asad Khān himself.

The fortress was already about to surrender. But if the war were ended many soldiers would fall out of employ, and their officers be without income; so they managed to make it appear that Kām Bakhsh was in correspondence with Shivā Jī (Rām Rājā), and meant to forsake his father and desert to the Mahrattahs. Two days before the fortress was to be made over Asad Khān carried off Kām Bakhsh a prisoner to Aurangzeb. The latter imagined it to be true that his son meant to rebel, and was much concerned. But as he (Kām Bakhsh) was his youngest, and son of his beloved Udepurī, he showed no resentment.[2] At this fact the reader may well be astonished, knowing from the course of my history how Aurangzeb forgave no one who attempted to oppose his designs.

Meanwhile Ẕu,lfiqār Khān continues until this day in the Karnātik as viceroy, without having reduced the fortress of Jinjī. This went on until Aurangzeb, angry at seeing that in eight years he could not take this strong place, wrote him repeated letters, when he so conducted matters that Shivā Jī (Rām Rājā) was able to escape.[3] If the generals had obeyed the king's orders, there can be no doubt that the campaign would be already over. With the great treasures he had and the large army he kept on foot, Aurangzeb could have made

[1] Kām Bakhsh was sent to Jinjī on the 9th Ramaẓān, 1102 H., thirty-fifth year (June 6, 1691, N.S.). He returned to court from Jinjī on the 20th Shawwāl, 1104 H., thirty-seventh year (June 25, 1693, N.S.) ('M.-i-'Ā.,' 339, 359).

[2] Ẕu,lfiqār Khān, at Kām Bakhsh's arrest, behaved with unnecessary brutality, calling him a *pisar-i-mutribah*, 'a dancing woman's child,' struck him in the face, and put him in chains (Yaḥyā Khān, 'Taẕkirah-ul-Mulūk,' India Office Library, fol. 111*a*). The arrest was in 1104 H. (1692-93) ('M.-i-'Ā.,' 359). A courtier muttered the appropriate line:

'There is a joy in forgiving that there is not in punishing,'

and Aurangzeb seized the opening, and imposed no penalties on his son.

[3] Grant-Duff, 171, says Jinjī was taken by escalade early in January, 1698. Rām Rājā escaped through the Mogul lines in December, 1697.

much greater conquests. For in spite of Shivā Jī (Rām Rājā) being at this day stronger than his father (Sambhā Jī), it would be quite easy to destroy him. But this suits neither the interests of the officers nor the purposes of Aurangzeb's sons.

These latter know they will have to struggle with their brothers for the crown by force of arms, and they do not wish to get rid of that prince (Rām Rājā), hoping at the proper time to be able to carry out their plots. Among those who want to preserve Shivā Jī (Rām Rājā), it is of certain knowledge that A'ẓam Tārā must be counted as the principal, and it may well happen that before this my book is laid before the eyes of the learned, I may be able to record the end of this [250] war, and the disappearance of Aurangzeb.

My third book (? Part) will explain the way in which the generals and commanders behave in Hindūstān. They aim only at their personal advantage, and ordinarily make no account of the royal commands, except only when it is necessary in order not to be expressly found out as traitors. But let us leave this subject for another time, and go on with the continuation of the war waged by Aurangzeb against Shivā Jī (Rām Rājā), leaving Zu,lfiqār Khān behind in this Karnātik to continue the contest with Shivā Jī and back up him (Aurangzeb) in these parts.

Release of Shāh 'Ālam and his Sons.

Aurangzeb with his army continued the campaign against Shivā Jī (the Mahrattahs), but his operations were more defensive than offensive. For that prince (Rām Rājā) followed his father's plan of avoiding a meeting in the field, and instead plundered in all directions without ever allowing any rest to Aurangzeb's forces. The generals were forced to rush with reinforcements wherever they heard that Shivā Jī was pillaging. While they were advancing to the east, that prince would appear all of a sudden on the west, and this was his invariable custom.

Meanwhile there appeared in the lands of Bengal a rajah

called Saba Singh (Sobha Singh),[1] who raised a great disturbance in the province, slaying governors and seizing treasures, taking possession of lands, and penetrating as far as Rage-mahal (Rāj-maḥal). Owing to these events, Aurangzeb was forced to send a second army against him, but this army suffered worse. From this cause Aurangzeb already began to consider the release of Shāh 'Ālam and his family. Although it was not done with a good grace, he was obliged to do it; for news was brought to him that Sulṭān Sulaimān,[2] King of Persia, had given a golden crown to Akbar, and promised to favour his claim to the throne. He said he would take Akbar's side against his father Aurangzeb.

On the arrival of this news at court, Aurangzeb, who knew Akbar's enterprising character, resolved to depute Shāh 'Ālam against him at the head of a great army in defence of Hindūstān. To resist the rajah in Bengal he determined to send 'Aẓīm-ud-dīn, the second son of Shāh 'Ālam, thus separating father and son. But the reader will like to know the way in which Aurangzeb sent off these princes.

Their release took place on a Friday[3] without [251] anybody knowing of the intention, for fear that A'ẓam Tārā, a rash and determined prince, might not, on learning of his brother's release, head an outbreak which would throw the kingdom into confusion. Therefore, very early, long before the usual hour, he (Aurangzeb) started for the mosque, and called into his presence Shāh 'Ālam and his sons without sending

[1] In 1107 H. (1695-96) Sobhā Singh, zamīndār of Chetwah and Bardah, in the Bardwān district, rose and killed the Rajah (Kishan Rām). He and his Paṭhān allies, under Raḥīm Khān, Binī, then took possession of Hūglī. The Europeans at Chinsurah, Chandarnagore, and Chuttanatī (Calcutta) fortified their factories. Murshidābād was taken, and the rebels reached within ten miles of Calcutta (C. Stewart, 'History of Bengal,' 328-336; Ghulām Ḥusain, Salīm, 'Riyāẓ-us-Salāṭīn,' 'Bibliotheca Indica,' 224-226).

[2] Ṣulaimān, Ṣafawi, reigned 1667-1694.

[3] According to Jag Jīvan Dās, 'Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh,' British Museum, Additional MS., No. 26,253, fol. 36b, they were released on the 5th Shawwāl, 1105 H. (May 30, 1694, N.S.). The place was Bījāpur, and the mosque story is confirmed by Jag Jīvan Dās, who wrote in 1719. The river Bhīmā is about fifty miles north of Bījāpur. The prince reached Āgrah on the 9th Shawwāl, thirty-ninth year, 1106 H. (May 23, 1695).

word to A'ẕam Tārā. The king was already in the mosque with Shāh 'Ālam on his right hand, a post where A'ẕam Tārā had been accustomed to stand during his brother's captivity.

Then spies reported to A'ẕam Tārā that the king, his father, had already begun his prayers, and he issued forth in all haste, and went also to the mosque. But seeing that his brother occupied the place usually held by himself, he angrily took up his position at the back, and, hurrying through his orisons, made his exit, resolved to raise a disturbance. But Aurangzeb, like the clever politician he was, directly the prayers were over, started in company with his son (Shāh 'Ālam) as far as the river Bimbara (Bhīmrā). Thence without delaying he furnished him with a retinue, and ordered him under his own eyes to cross to the other side of the river. He received orders to march and take up the government of Hindūstān. Letters followed, directing the governors to obey his orders; the king also forwarded his baggage after him, and further retinue afterwards. For time did not allow of his being detained near him (Aurangzeb) until all these matters were put in order.

At the same time he ordered 'Aẕīm-ud-dīn to cross the river with his father, and then separating from him to make for Bengal.[1] Thus he deprived A'ẕam Tārā of any opening for perpetrating a misdeed. There can be no doubt that if any king ever had recourse to foresight to prevent disorder, it was Aurangzeb.

The Villagers of Āgrah burn the Bones of King Akbar.

King Aurangzeb had his worries, which are unavoidable by the great, who, delighting in lording it, get hold at times of very hard bones to digest. One of these worries arose from the villagers of Āgrah, of whom we have spoken several times (I. 83, II. 59). But their daring had never reached such a pitch as it did in

[1] The 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī' does not confirm this; it places the appointment later—in 1109 H., forty-first year (1697-98) (p. 387).

one thousand six hundred and ninety-one. On other occasions they had contented themselves by declining to pay revenue: this time they did the greatest affront possible to the house and lineage of Taimūr-i-lang [252]; for, seizing the occasion of Aurangzeb being in the Dakhin near to Bījāpur, they proved that they cared neither for his power, his policy, nor his governors. They planned, and succeeded in, a very bold undertaking.

Already angered by the demands of the governors and *faujdārs* for revenue, a great number of them assembled and marched to the mausoleum of that great conqueror, Akbar. Against him living they could effect nothing; they therefore wreaked vengeance on his sepulchre. They began their pillage by breaking in the great gates of bronze which it had, robbing the valuable precious stones and plates (*lastras*) of gold and silver, and destroying what they were not able to carry away. Dragging out the bones of Akbar, they threw them angrily into the fire and burnt them.[1]

Aurangzeb was much afflicted at this piece of boldness and this outrage. It also gave him other anxieties, for he foresaw that when the villagers were masters of the roads between Āgrah and Dihlī, not a soul would be allowed to pass. He was, therefore, obliged to send his foster-brother Badercan

[1] The only other author who speaks precisely about the plundering of Akbar's tomb is Îshar Dās, Nāgar, in his 'Fatūḥāt-i-'Ālamgīrī,' British Museum, Additional MS., No. 23,884, fol. 131*a et seq.* The first attempt by Rājah Rām, Jāṭ, of Sansanī, was repulsed by the *faujdār*, Mīr Abu,l-faẓl, who was rewarded with the title of Iltifāt Khān. Mahābat Khān, on his way from Gujarāt to his new government of Lāhor, was encamped at Sikandrah, and, taking the field against the Jāṭs, killed 400 of them. At this time Shāistah Khān, the Emperor's uncle, was appointed Governor; but, before he took charge, the Jāṭs renewed their attack on Sikandrah, and plundered the tomb, taking the carpets, with the silver and gold vessels, and damaging most of the tombs and the mausoleum. The Deputy Governor, Muḥammad Baqā (Muẓaffar Khān), did nothing, and, with the retiring Governor, Khān Jahān, Bahādur, fell under Aurangzeb's displeasure. Bishn Singh, Rajah of Amber, was then employed against Sansanī; but Rājah, Jāṭ, was killed in a fight between the Shekāwats and the Chohāns, for which he had hired himself out to one of the parties. The year is apparently 1098 or 1099 H. (1686-87). But Churāman, brother of Rājah Rām, was still carrying on the fight in 1102 H. (1690-91).

(Bahādur Khān).[1] Although brave, this man recognised that he could do nothing against the tenacity of such ferocious beasts. He therefore called in the grandsons of Rajah Jai Singh and many other Rajahs, so that at the least the villagers might be forced to retreat. He could not manage anything more without heavy casualties in his force, and without entirely ruining the lands. Even this much was not easy, nor was it desirable to reduce these lands to uninhabited waste. He managed to make them retreat without attempting anything more against them.

Death of Shāistah Khān.

Five years after the above occurrence died the famous Shāistah Khān,[2] son of Āṣaf Khān, but not by the same mother as Nūr-mahal, or Nūr Jahān, sister of Shāistah Khān—she was the beloved wife of King Jahāngīr. When the said king was told that the mother of Shāistah Khān was pregnant, he was very glad, and he resolved that if she brought forth a son he would at once assign him pay of three millions of rupees a year. He was born in the year one thousand six hundred, and received the title of Shāistah Khān, which means 'Perfect,' and he continued to draw the above pay until he reached his majority.

When Shāhjahān married his sister of the full blood Shāistah Khān received an addition of a million [253] every year. Then Aurangzeb married one of his sisters, and on his accession to the throne gave him an augmentation of another million.

[1] Early in the thirty-first year, 1099 H. (1687-88), Prince Bedār Bakht and Khān Jahān, Bahādur, Ẓafar Jang (*i.e.*, Bahādur Khān), were sent against Rājah Rām, Jāṭ, of Sansanī. The place was taken on July 14, 1688 ('Ma‚āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 311).

[2] Abū Ṭālib, entitled, first, Shāistah Khān, then Khān Jahān, then Amīr-ul-umarā, son of Yamīn-ud-daulah, Āṣaf Khān, Khān Khānān, Sipāhsālār, son of I'timād-ud-daulah, Ghiyāṣ Beg, Ṭihrānī, died in the middle of 1105 H. (February or March, 1694), while Ṣūbahdār of Āgrah. His age was ninety-one (lunar) years, and he was maternal uncle of Aurangzeb. His father died in 1051 H. He was son-in-law of Mirzā Īraj, Shāh Nawāz Khān, son of 'Abd-ur-raḥīm, Khān Khānān ('Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī,' 1105). As before, Manucci wrongly calls him the brother, instead of the nephew, of Nūr Jahān.

This was in addition to the large presents that the king made to him.

This Shāistah Khān lived for ninety-five years and had many sons and daughters, all of whom married into the best families of Hindūstān. Up to this day there are a number of his descendants, his sons occupying great offices in the empire. Shāistah Khān was a man of ripe judgment, very wealthy and powerful, and of good reputation, for he was very charitable, distributing every year in alms fifty thousand rupees. For this purpose, in each of the principal cities of the empire he employed officials, who looked after the daily gifts of food and clothes to the most necessitous of the poor, and succoured the widow and the orphan.

He constructed on the river at Narwar,[1] on the route from Āgrah to the Dakhin, a large bridge as his memorial. For its completion, in spite of his employing many officials, five-and-twenty years were required. Shāistah Khān was very fond of Europeans, above all of the priests; he was loved and respected by everyone, and he was a great amateur of precious stones. He died in the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-five, leaving to his heirs a large fortune. He gave their liberty to a thousand women, adding as a gift sufficient for their support. To Aurangzeb he made a bequest of two hundred millions of coin in gold and silver, two hundred millions of jewels, over two millions in goods and household furnishings, elephants, camels, and horses. He was buried in the tomb of his father, Āṣaf Khān, in the city of Āgrah.

Akbar comes from Persia and then retreats.

Shāh 'Ālam's arrival in Hindūstān was well timed, for a false rumour having got abroad that Aurangzeb was dead, Akbar advanced at the head of twelve thousand Persian horsemen to test his fortunes. But encountering the great army of Shāh 'Ālam not far from Multān, he was obliged to retreat.

[1] Tieffenthaler (Bernouilli, i. 179, and Plate XX., opposite p. 320): 'Un pont élégant construit en pierres de taille sur le Sindh, porté par 24 arches hautes et larges, dont 3 ou 4 sont détruites aujourd'hui (*circa* 1750 ?), par la violence des pluies.' The plate shows only thirteen arches.

Then it was heard that he had halted at the fortress of Qandahār, within Persian territory, there to await his father's death. Since that time, as it would appear, there has been no want of people to collect and espouse his cause. Therefore Shāh 'Ālam continued [in those regions] with his sons and family, excepting 'Aẓīm-ud-dīn. He did not remain in one fixed place, but scattering [254] his troops, kept watch, so that his brother Akbar might not invade India.

Things went well with Shāh 'Ālam, favoured by Fortune as also with his son, Sulṭān 'Aẓīm-ud-dīn, in Bengal. The latter, imitating his grandfather, denuded the rajah little by little until the rebel was forced to retire into his own country.[1]

It now remains to remark that when Akbar fled he left behind him two daughters. Aurangzeb married one to Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-dīn, and the other to Sulṭān 'Aẓīm-ud-dīn.[2] It is not known why he carried out these marriages. Another matter having reference to Akbar is that, when he took flight, he left in the hands and under the protection of the famous Rānī, widow of Jaswant Singh, two pregnant wives, who both gave birth to sons. Repeated excuses were made for not sending the little ones to Aurangzeb; the Rānī hoped that Akbar would return from Persia and make himself king. In the end, finding that this prince never came, she sent them to be delivered to their grandfather.[2] It was an amusement to the old man to get two grandchildren who could speak nothing but the Rājpūt tongue, which differs from that used at the court. He gave them establishments, and kept them lovingly near his person. Aurangzeb was very anxious to draw Akbar back to the Mogul kingdom, and with this view he went on writing him friendly letters with invitations to return. Promises

[1] This refers to Sobhā Singh (*ante*, ii. 210), who was killed by a woman captive. The rising was suppressed by Zabardast Khān, son of Ibrāhīm Khān, the previous Governor of Bengal.

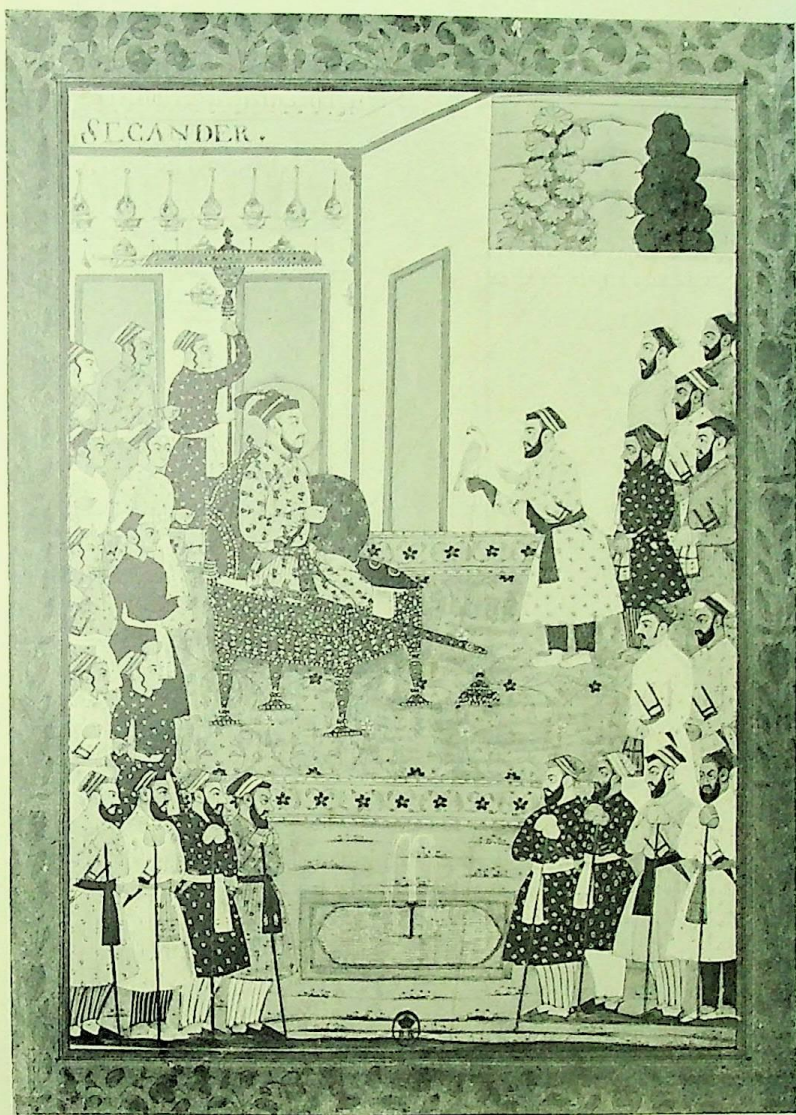
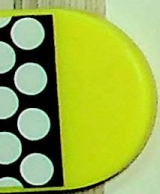
[2] I cannot find any confirmation of the asserted marriages of two daughters of Akbar to Mu'izz-ud-dīn and 'Aẓīm-ud-dīn. There were certainly two daughters captured in 1681. There were three children—one son and two daughters—born in Rājputānah; the boy was surrendered by Durgā Dās, Rāṭhor, in May, 1689, and the youth died in prison at Aḥmadnagar in 1706 ('M.-i-'Ā.,' 209, 395).

were given to make him master from Bhakkar as far as Taṭṭah, which is the province of Sind. But he knew his father's nature, and up to this day (? 1700) has put faith neither in his letters nor his promises.

Thus do matters go on in the Mogul kingdom; sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons are making preparations for the terrible wars which must ensue upon the death of the old king. For there are many aspirants to dominion, it being among them a saying that in such a case a father should not trust a son, nor a son his father.

The thing most to be wondered at in my History is the wisdom of Aurangzeb, who, in spite of being an old man of eighty-four years, knows how to regulate affairs with such skill that he maintains himself as king against the will of so many claimants; and at this great age he still mounts on horseback [255].

I know quite well that some in reading this History will comment on my leaving the Mogul country so many times and then going back. Some will say to themselves that in those lands there must be some delectable fields which caused my return there. But in reality, granting that by God's favour I did have the luck to attain some good fortune, yet never had I any desire to settle there. For, of a truth, they have nothing that can delight or win people from Europe, or make them desire to live there. The country is not good for the body, much less for the soul; for the body, because it is requisite to live ever on the *qui vive* and keep your eyes open, since no one ever says a word to be relied upon. It is continuously requisite to think the worst and believe the contrary of what is said; for it is the habit there absolutely to act according to the proverb of my country, 'Pleasant words, sad actions.' They deceive both the acute and the careless; thus, when they show themselves the greatest friends, you require to be doubly careful.

The country is not good for the soul, as much from the licence one has there as from the absence of Catholic observances. Thus, when I could leave it, I did so; nor should I ever have gone back there had I not been forced by necessity.

XXI. Sultān Sikandar, Son of Shāh Shujā'.

I offer up many thanks to God that at length He granted me means to deliver myself; and I assure the reader that few Europeans could live there with the advantages and honours I was able to achieve. Nor let him be led away by the hope that, resorting thither, he would be able to improve himself in any degree. For few indeed are they who return thence bettered, and many are those who have been made worse.

END OF PART II.

THE THIRD PART[1]

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE MOGUL

BY

NICOLAS MANOUCHY, VENETIAN,

First Physician to Shāh 'Ālam, eldest son of Aurangzeb

WHEREIN IS GIVEN AN EXACT ACCOUNT OF THE RICHES AND GRANDEUR OF THE MOGULS AND THE HINDU PRINCES, HIS NEIGHBOURS, WITH MANY CURIOUS DETAILS AND REMARKABLE EVENTS

[The Phillips MS., 1945, bears at the top, 'Collegii Paris. Societ. Jesu,' and on the margin of the first page, 'Paragraphé au devis de l'arrest du 5 Juillet, 1763.—MESNIL.']

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[1] The Third Part begins in French, and so goes on up to f. 66, when it continues in Portuguese. There is an abridgment of this part in F. Catrou, 4to. edition of 1705, pp. 232-272. Part III. begins on fol. 149 of the Venice Codex XLIV. in Italian, and has no headings.

HISTORY OF THE MOGUL

THIRD PART

ALTHOUGH by perusal of the first two parts it is easy to learn the riches, the grandeur, and the policy of the Mogul kings and those of the other princes of Hindūstān, their neighbours, still, as those subjects are scattered here and there throughout the History, I have not thought it useless to write a separate book. It forms the subject of this Third Part of my History; it will, I feel assured, be a great help and most useful to those who undertake a journey to India to see those far-off lands. I pledge my word that if before starting they will take the trouble to read what is here written, they will be able afterwards to judge whether I have faithfully aided Europeans by the investigations and observations which I here communicate.

I must add to these remarks that my object in writing has not been merely to satisfy the curiosity of readers, but to be of use to them. This is the reason that I have not relied on the knowledge of others; and I have spoken of nothing which I have not seen or undergone during the space of forty-eight years that I have dwelt in Hindūstān. Nor have I remained in one place, but have been always travelling, holding an honourable and lucrative post, which has given me the means of acquiring a more exact knowledge of everything occurring in this vast empire.

I have decided to give in this Third Part: first, an exact description of the *maḥal*, or Mogul seraglio [2-22]; secondly, an account of the ruler's policy, and how he deals with the kings and princes who are his vassals [22-49]; thirdly, I shall speak of the kingdoms and provinces dependent upon the

Mogul—what are the rents and revenues of each separately, and other notable things [49-59]; fourthly, I shall say something about the chief rajahs or princelings either within or round about this empire [59-89]; fifthly, I shall give a short account of the Hindū religion [90-136]; sixthly, I shall offer some remarks on elephants and other animals [144-155]; seventhly and lastly, I shall report certain curious events which have happened in India [155 to end].

Most Europeans imagine that the grandeur of kings and princes in other parts of the world cannot compare with what is found at the courts of their sovereigns. Excluding the principal ones—those of the Emperor, the King of France, and the King of Spain—nowhere else can be found, as they think, those airs of grandeur and of majesty which follow in a sovereign's train. But, without speaking of the Emperor of China's court, which, according [2] to the accounts we have, is extremely splendid and majestuous, I assert that in the Mogul kingdom the nobles, and above all the king, live with such ostentation that the most sumptuous of European courts cannot compare in richness and magnificence with the lustre beheld in the Indian court.

Customs of the Royal Household, and the Way of dealing with the People living in the Palace, commonly called the *Mahal*, or Seraglio.

Ordinarily there are within the *mahal* two thousand women of different races. Each has her office or special duties, either in attendance on the king, his wives, his daughters, or his concubines. To rule and maintain order among this last class, each one is assigned her own set of rooms, and matrons are placed over them. In addition, each has usually attached to her ten or twelve women servants, who are selected from the above-named women.

The matrons have generally three, four, or five hundred rupees a month as pay, according to the dignity of the post they occupy. The servants under their orders have from fifty up to two hundred rupees a month. In addition to these

matrons, there are the female superintendents of music and their women players; these have about the same pay more or less, besides the presents they receive from the princes and princesses, whose names I will record lower down, in order to divert the reader by a little variety. Among them are some who teach reading and writing to the princesses, and usually what they dictate to them are amorous verses. Or the ladies obtain relaxation in reading books called 'Gulistān' and 'Bostān,' written by an author called Sec Sadi Chiragi (Shekh Sa'dī, Shīrāzī), and other books treating of love, very much the same as our romances, only they are still more shameless.

The way in which these kings are waited on by these women in their *maḥal* deserves mention. For, just as the king has his officers outside, he has the same among the fair sex within the *maḥal*. Among these ladies are some who occupy the same offices that are held by grandees outside; and it is by the mouth of these illustrious persons, when the king does not come forth, that the officials outside receive the orders sent them from within. All the persons employed in these offices are carefully selected; they have much wit and judgment, and know all that is passing in the empire. For the officials outside are required to send written reports into the *maḥal* of all that the king ought to know. To these reports the women officials reply as directed by that prince. And to carry this out there are eunuchs who take out and bring back the sealed letters written from one side to the other on these matters.

It is also a fixed rule of the Moguls that the *vaquianavis* (*wāqi'ah-navīs*) and the *cofianavis* (*khufiyah-navīs*), or the public and secret news-writers of the empire, must once a week enter what is passing in a *vaquia* (*wāqi'ah*)—that is to say, a sort of gazette or Mercury, containing the events of most importance. These news-letters are commonly read in the king's presence by women of the *maḥal* at about nine o'clock in the evening, so that by this means be knows what is going on in his kingdom. There are, in addition, spies, who are also obliged to send in reports weekly about other important business, chiefly

what the princes are doing, and this duty they perform through written statements.

The king sits up till midnight, and is unceasingly occupied with the above sort of business. He sleeps for three hours only, and on awakening offers up his usual prayers [3], which occupy an hour and a half. Every year he goes into penitential retirement for forty days, during which he sleeps on the ground, he fasts, he gives alms—the whole to secure from God continuance of victory and the accomplishment of his designs. But, nowadays, being old and his enemies hindering him from undertaking anything, he must perforce remain at rest. Notwithstanding, he never fails every morning to consider and give orders as to what should be done. Thus in the twenty-four hours his rule is to eat once and sleep three hours. During sleep he is guarded by women slaves, very brave, and highly skilled in the management of the bow and other arms.

Every day one thousand rupees are disbursed for the expenses of the king's kitchen, and the officials are required to furnish therefrom all that is necessary. They have to lay before the prince a fixed number of *ragouts* and different dishes in vessels of China porcelain placed on gold stands. As a great favour the king sends of these, or of what is left over, to the queens and princesses and the captains of the guard. This honour is always dearly paid for, since the eunuchs who convey the food never fail to get themselves well rewarded. When the king is in an enemy's country, where provisions are dear, the total expense is disregarded. There must always be produced a certain fixed number of *ragouts*; so much is this the case that on the march there is no control over the expenditure. But in the *maḥal* the queens, the princesses, and all the other women have their separate allowances.

Since I have promised to give a list of the various names, and their different meanings, of the titles that the Mogul kings give to the queens and princesses, to their concubines, to the chief matrons, to the dancing-women, to the singing-women, and to the slaves of the *maḥal*, I think it advisable to begin at this point.

The principal names given by the kings to the queens and the princesses, with their meanings, are:

Taige Mahal	Tāj Maḥal[1]	Crown of the *Maḥal*
Nur Mahal	Nūr Maḥal	Aurora of the *Maḥal*
Nur Jahan	Nūr Jahān	Aurora of the World
Farsana Begom	Farzānah Begam	Liberality of Good Things
Akabarabady	Akbarābādī	Sovereign in Prosperity
Orangbady Begom	Aurangābādī Begam	Prosperity of the Throne
Nawab Bahigi	Nawāb Bāe Jī	The Great
Udepury	Ūdepūrī	Full of Joy
Guescuor	Kesar ?	Shadow of Riches
Chater Matz	Chattar-watī	Glorious in her Designs
Jany Begom	Jānī Begam	Loved or Cherished One
Maha Canon	Māh Khānum	Light of the House, which is a high title. It is as if one said, 'The Light of France,' for by 'house' is understood the empire, or the royal or imperial house
Cha Canon	Shāh Khānum	King of the House
Fiar Conda Canon	Farkhundah Khānum	Bounty of the House
Pur onor Begom	Pur-anwar Begam	Filled with Industry
Acla Begom	'Āqilah Begam	The Instructed or Discreet
Fasela Canon	Fāẓilah Khānum	Wisdom of the Court
Cha adma Canon	Shādmān Khānum	Mirth of the House
Nur nechan Canon	Nūr-un-nissā Khānum	Aurora of the Women of the House
Jefea Canon	Jafā Khānum (?)	Prosperity of the House
Nafesa Canon	Nafīsah Khānum	The Most Exquisite of the House
Dur Dan Begom	Durr-i-durrān Begam	The Pearl among Princesses
Nadera Begom	Nādirah Begam	The Excellent Princess
Jahanara Begom	Jahān-ārā Begam	Princess Renowned in the World
Begom Saheb	Begam Ṣāḥib	Lady among Princesses
Roxanara Begom	Roshan-ārā Begam	The Light among Princesses

These queens and princesses have [4] the title of Begam, which signifies that they are void of care,[2] while others have the title of *Canon* (*Khānum*), signifying that they are of the royal household;[2] the word also means 'a noble.' When they travel on

[1] The middle column of all these lists—an attempt to give the strict transliteration—has been added by the translator. The third column is Manucci's own. No attempt has been made to correct these meanings, many of which are doubtful, and some absolutely erroneous.

[2] This is due to an erroneous etymology, the word not being *be-gham*, 'devoid of care,' but *begam*, the Turkish feminine of *beg*, a lord, a noble. In the same

elephants they are made to enter a tent near the palace gate, and the elephant-driver covers his head with a coarse cloth so that he may not see them.

The names of the mistresses, or concubines, with the meanings, are:

Ranadel	Ra'nah-dil	That is, Clear or Faithful Heart
Badam Cheshm	Bādām Chashm	Bold-eyed
Nazac Badam	Nāzuk-badan	Pretty Body
Mat Lub	Maṯlūb	Given by Destiny
Suc Den	Sukh-dain	Repose
Catol	Kutūhal	Joyous
Sangar	Singār	Adorned
Piar	Piyār	Loving
Mahan	Mahān	Proud

All the names given are either Persian or Hindū; for the king takes into his house several daughters of Hindū princes, and gives them Hindū names, as the fancy takes him, and also in the same way to those who are Mahomedans. It is also the practice of these kings and the Mogul princes to entertain matrons as spies, and eunuchs who give [blank; ? information] to these old ladies of the loveliest young women in the empire. Afterwards these matrons, by promises and deceit, lead them astray, and have them carried off into whatever palace the king or a prince requires. There they are detained among the number of mistresses or concubines, as I have recorded in the first part of this history, when speaking of the King Jahāngīr (? Shāhjahān) and the Prince Dārā (I. 131, 152). When it happens that he does not wish to keep them, the king sends them back with some great present. I say this because I have had a special acquaintance with all these secrets and of many others, which it is not in place for me to state.

The names of the matrons, with the meanings, are:

Nias Bibi Banu	Niyāz Bībī Bāno	The Present Lady
Faima Banu	Fahīmah Bāno	The Philosopher Lady
Falica Banu	Falakī Bāno	The Fortunate Lady
Cader Bibi Banu	Qādir Bībī Bāno	The Powerful Lady

way *khānum* is not connected with *khānah*, 'a house'; it is the feminine of *khān*, 'a lord, a noble.'

Noschaba Banu	Noshābah Bāno	The Lady Presenting Liquor
Gol Sultan Banu	Gūl Sulṭān Bāno	The Lady of the Royal Flower
Dil jo Banu	Dil-jū Bāno	The Lady Heart Repose
Sin tan Banu	Sīm-tan Bāno	The Lady Golden Body
Mer niguer Banu	Mihr-nigar Bāno	The Lady of Pitying Glance
Nevel Bay Banu	Naval Bāe Bāno	The New Lady
Chater Bay Banu	Chatarāi Bāno	The Discreet Lady
Lal Bay Banu	La'l Bāe Bāno	The Ruby Lady
Ira Bay Banu	Hīrā Bāe Bāno	The Diamond Lady
Manse Banu[1]	Mānik Bāno	The Pearl Lady
Maha Biquer	Mah-i-bikr	The Full Moon

The matrons are very much more numerous, but not to weary, I give the names of only a few principal ones, who are set over the whole *mahal*, and I shall adopt the same course in regard to the singing-women, dancing-women, and others.

In spite of Aurangzeb's having forbidden all music, he nevertheless continued always to entertain in his palaces, for the diversion of the queens and his daughters, several dancing and singing women; and even conferred special names on their mistresses or superintendents. Those names are as follows:

NAMES OF THE SUPERINTENDENTS OF THE DANCERS AND SINGERS, WITH THEIR MEANING.

Sondar Bay	Sundar Bāe	Superintendent of Music
Soroc Bay	Surosh Bāe	The Good Voice
Chalol Bay	Chulohlā Bāe	The Happy [5]
Merg nen	Mirg-nain	Gazelle-eyed
Lal Bay	La'l Bāe	Ruby
Irā Bāy	Hīrā Bāe	Diamond
Mança Bay	Manasā Bāe	Pearl
Chalian Bay	Jāliyā Bāe	The Net
Ras Bay	Ras Bāe	Liquor
Nen jot Bay	Nain-jot Bāe	Light of the Eyes
Merg mala Bay	Mirg-mālā Bāe	Flowery, or she who is covered with flowers
Gol ro Bay	Gul-rū Bāe	Rose-visaged
Chanchel Bay	Chanchal Bāe	The Bold
Sanchel Bay	Chanchal Bāe	The Subtile
Dian Bay	Dhyān Bāe	The Well-informed
Gian Bay	Gyān Bāe	The Inventive

[1] The only word approaching this form, and having a meaning which might be rendered 'pearl,' is the Hindi *mānik*, a jewel, a ruby.

Ar Bay	Hār Bāe	Flower-adorned
Morad Bay	Murād Bāe	The Desired
Mathalab Bay	Maṭlab Bāe	The Foreseeing
Akas Bay	Ākās Bāe	The Celestial
Abshera Bay	Apsarā Bāe	The Seraphic
Caldar Bay	Khāldār Bāe	The Freckled
Becond Bay	Baikunṭh Bāe	Paradise
Coshal Bay	Khūshḥāl Bāe	The Happy
Nial Bay	Nihāl Bāe	The Abundant
Ferae Bay	Farāḥ Bāe (?)	The Healthy
Golal Bay	Gulāl Bāe	The Rose
Castury Bay	Kastūrī Bāe	Musk or Musk-perfumed
Carsewad Bay	Kār-i-ṣawāb Bāe	Taste
Bessina Bay	Basnā Bāe	The Pleasant-scented
Ader Bay	Udar Bāe (?)	The Replete
Sanchel Bay	Chanchal Bāe (?)	The Sufficient
Guecer Bay	Kesar Bāe	Saffron

All the above names are Hindū, and ordinarily these overseers of the music are Hindūs by race, who have been carried off in infancy from various villages or the houses of different rebel Hindū princes. In spite of their Hindū names, they are, however, Mahomedans. Each has under her orders about ten apprentices; and along with these apprentices they attend the queens, the princesses, and the concubines. Each one has her special rank according to her standing. The queens and the other ladies pass their time in their rooms, each with her own set of musicians. None of these musicians are allowed to sing elsewhere than in the rooms of the person to whom they are attached, except at some great festival. Then they are all assembled and ordered to sing together some piece or other in praise of, or to the honour of, the festival. All these women are pretty, have a good style and much grace in their gait, are very free in their talk and exceedingly lascivious, their only occupation, outside the duties of their office, being lewdness.

'Bāe' in the Hindū language means 'madam' or 'lady.'

The names of the principal slaves or women servants in the *maḥal* are:

Golal	Gulāl	The Rose
Chambely	Chambelī	The Jasmine Flower
Narguis	Nargis	The Tulip Flower
Guecer	Kesar	Saffron

Gaal badam	Gul-i-badām	Almond Flower
Sosen	Sosan	The Lily Flower
Hyassaman	Yāsmīn	The Festival [*i.e.*, *Jashan*]
Castury	Kastūrī	Musk

Continuation of the names of the principal slaves in the *maḥal* :

Chumpa	Champā	Name of an Indian flower
Rubel	Bel	Name of another such flower [? jasmine]
Sentz	Saintī	Another flower name
Senovor	Nainūfār (?)	The Tuberose[1]
Gola Basoy	Gul-i-'abbāsī	The Head of Flowers
Gol Frang	Gul-i-farang	The Girofle
Ranagol	Ra'nā-gul	The Good Flower
Gole Andam	Gul-andām	The Shape of a Flower
Golonour	Gul-anār	Pomegranate Flower
Anar caly	Anār-kalī	Pomegranate Blossom
Salony	Salonī	The Holy Sweetened with Sugar
Sobaty	Suḥbatī	The Pleasing
Neguy	Nekī	The Good-natured
Jasgar	Khāṣ-kār (?)	The Well-placed
Doulany	Daulatī	Riches
Madmotty	Madhumatī	The Terrible
Sogundara	Sugandharā	The Scented
Geony	Gyānī	The Lively or Expert
Choel	Koīl	A bird in India
Lambac	Lambukā (?)[2]	Lily Flower
Benofchu	Banafshah	The Violet
Gol rang	Gul-rang	Flower-coloured
Mendy	Mendhī	Red Colour [*henna*]
Sud barg	Ṣad-barg	Hundred-leaved
Cosh negu	Khūsh-nigāh	The Courteous
Sandal	Ṣandal	Sandal
Dila Feros	Dil-afroz	Heart-delighting
Ginda del	Zindah-dil	Life of the Heart
Guet qui	Ketakī	Name of an Indian flower [*keora*]
[6] Nias bo	Niyāz-bū	Pleasant-smelling
Much naz	Machh-nāz (?)	Smart and Agile
Moty	Motī	The Pearl
Nec Cadam	Nek-qadam	The Well-footed Beauty
Achanec	Achānak	The Unexpected

[1] In the dictionaries the tuberose is *shab-bū*, 'night-scented.'

[2] Lambukā, the name of an *apsarā*, a nymph in the court of Indra.

Nas bo	Nāz-būe	Balm, Basilicum
Morgnen	Mirg-nain	Gazelle-eyed
Nen suc	Nain-sukh	Repose of the Eyes
Calval nen	Kamal-nain	Lotus-eyed
Dil pasant	Dil-pasand	Flattering the Heart
Dil alam	Dil-ārām	Repose of the Heart
Rang mala	Rang-mālā	Crowned with Flowers
Bassenty	Basantī	The Day of Festival
Gombary	Kāmwarī (?)	Full of Industry
Ira	Hīrā	The Diamond
Coch-andam	Khūsh-andām	Perfect in Bearing
Sareo gol	Sarv-gul	A Flower among Cypresses
Quis mix	Kishmish	The 'Escuse'[1] (?)
Pesta	Pistah	The Pistachio

All these names, and those which preceded, are more Indian than Persian. The kings are very choice about giving names to suit the persons receiving them. So much is this the case that they call these principal slaves by names having some connection either with their walk or their gestures, or their speech or their acts. They are all very well clad, and adorned with valuable jewels. They receive the same pay as the other slaves, and are under their orders; and each has under her about ten women, over whom she rules.

The expenses of the *maḥal* are extraordinary, for they never amount to less than a *carol* (*karor*) of rupees—that is, ten millions of rupees—which makes about fifteen millions of *livres*[2] of Touraine. But out of this the king draws the money required for the *sarāpās*, or robes, which he presents to generals and officers, as I have said (I. 54). The above expenditure will not appear incredible when we consider that all persons in India being extremely choice about, and fond of, scents and flowers, they disburse a great deal for essences of many kinds, for rose-water, and for scented oils distilled from different flowers. Besides all that expense, there is the *betel*, which is always in their mouths. It must also be noted that these are the daily expenses, to which must be added the continual purchases made

[1] *Kishmish* means 'raisin,' and perhaps *escuse* is intended for *asciugato* [Italian], 'dried' [grapes].

[2] According to Tavernier (Ball), i. 411, a *livre* was one-third of an *écu* (held to be worth 4s. 6d.), and therefore equal to 1s. 6d., and 15,000,000 *livres* equals £1,125,000.

of precious stones. From this cause the goldsmiths are almost continuously busy with the making of ornaments. The best and the most costly of their productions are for the king's person, the queens, and the princesses.

The latter make it one of their diversions to examine and show to others their jewellery. But they have their reasons for this; for I have noticed several times myself when introduced into the rooms of these ladies, they having asserted that they had some reason for consulting me, that they often caused their ornaments and jewels to be brought, solely as an opening for a conversation. The things are brought in great trays of gold. They would inquire from me their virtues and properties, and make other similar remarks. During this time I had sufficient leisure to examine them, and I may say I have seen every sort of stone, some of an extraordinary size, and strings of pearls very equal in size, which at the first start I often took for various kinds of fruit. I say various kinds of fruit, for there were strings of rubies pierced and strung together just like the pearls, and about the size of a nut. These, by their red colour, diversified that of the pearls, and I took the whole for fruit.

These ladies keep their rubies in this condition in order not to diminish their size and weight, for they know quite well that no one but themselves would be able to wear them, and, on the other hand, they have no need to sell them. Thus they do not mind their being pierced. They wear these necklaces of jewels like scarves, on both shoulders, added to three strings of pearls on each side. Usually they have also three to five rows of pearls hanging from their neck, coming down as far as the lower part of the stomach. Upon the middle of the head is a bunch of pearls which hangs down as far as the centre of the forehead, with a valuable ornament of costly stones formed into the shape of the sun, or moon, or some star, or at times imitating different flowers. This suits them exceedingly well. On the right side they have a little round ornament (*boucle*), in which is a small ruby inserted between [7] two pearls. In their ears are valuable stones, round the neck large pearls or strings of precious stones, and over these a valuable ornament having

in its centre a big diamond, or ruby, or emerald, or sapphire, and round it huge pearls.

They wear on their arms, above the elbow, rich armlets two inches wide, enriched on the surface with stones, and having small bunches of pearls depending from them. At their wrists are very rich bracelets, or bands of pearls, which usually go round nine or twelve times. In this way they often have the place for feeling the pulse so covered up that I found it difficult to put my hand upon it. On their fingers are rich rings, and on the right thumb there is always a ring, where, in place of a stone, there is mounted a little round mirror, having pearls around it. This mirror they use to look at themselves, an act of which they are very fond, at any and every moment. In addition, they are girded with a sort of waistbelt of gold two fingers wide, covered all over with great stones; at the ends of the strings which tie up their drawers there are bunches of pearls made up of fifteen strings five fingers in length. Round the bottom of their legs are valuable metal rings or strings of costly pearls.

All these princesses own six to eight sets of jewels, in addition to some other sets of which I do not speak, worn according to their own fancy. Their dresses are superb and costly, perfumed with essence of roses. Every day they change their clothes several times; this is due to the vicissitudes in the weather, which occur continually in the Mogul country. When these ladies want to dispose of their jewels, it is almost impossible for them to do so. For Prince Akbar, when he was in the territory of Shivā Jī, finding himself without money, sent five rubies to Goa to be sold. They were equal to those I spoke of above. Yet no one wanted to buy, owing to the high prices he asked, also because they were pierced.

All women in India are in the habit of scenting their hands and feet with a certain earth,[1] which they call *mendy* (*mehndī*), which colours the hands and feet red, in such a way that they

[1] In the French text the word is *passe;* in Portuguese the author uses it many times in different forms—*pauso*, *poco*, *posso*, and so forth—and, collating all these passages, I find it means either a pond, a marsh, or else clay and mud. I have not found it in any dictionary, French or Portuguese. *Menhdī* (*henna*) is, however, not an earth, but the leaves of a plant pounded and formed into a paste.

look as if they had on gloves. They do this because they can wear neither gloves nor stockings on account of the great heats which prevail in India. They are also obliged thereby to put on such exceedingly thin raiment that their skin shows through. They call these clothes *siricas* (? *sāṛī*), and others *malmal* (*i.e.*, muslin). Ordinarily they wear two or even three garments, each weighing not more than one ounce, and worth from forty to fifty rupees each. This is without counting the [gold] lace that they are in the habit of adding. They sleep in these clothes, and renew them every twenty-four hours, and never put them on again, but give them away to their servants.

Their hair is always very well dressed, plaited, and perfumed with scented oil. They cover their heads with a sheet of cloth of gold, and these are of different makes and colours. During the cold weather—that is to say, the less hot season; as for winter, they do not know in India what that means—in that season, I say, they wear the same clothes, covering themselves on the top of the other things, however, with a woollen *cabaye* (*qabā*, a long open gown), of fine Kashmīr make. Above their other clothes they put on fine shawls, so thin that they can be passed through a small finger-ring.

Their amusement at night is generally to have large torches lighted, on which they will spend more than one hundred and fifty thousand rupees. The torches are made with wax or oil. Some of these princesses wear turbans by the king's permission. On the turban is a valuable aigrette, surrounded by pearls and precious stones. This is extremely becoming, and makes them look very graceful [8]. During entertainments, such as balls and such-like, there are dancing-women who have the same privilege.

These queens and princesses have pay or pensions according to their birth or the rank they hold. In addition, they often receive from the king special presents in cash, under the pretext that it is to buy betel, or perfumes, or shoes. They live in this way, with no cares or anxieties, occupying themselves with nothing beyond displaying great show and magnificence, an imposing and majestuous bearing, or making themselves attractive, getting talked about in the world, and pleasing the

king. For, in spite of there being among them many jealousies, they conceal this as a matter of policy.

In the midst of so much idleness, enjoyment, and grandeur, they cannot fail to get their minds loaded with the impurity of many vices. For they never reflect on death, and through all the palaces such a thing is never mentioned, nor anything to bring it before the eyes or mind. When these ladies chance to fall ill, they are carried away to a very pretty set of rooms in the palace, which they style the *bīmār-k͟hānah*, or house for the sick. There they are nursed and tended with all possible exactitude, and they only come forth either well or dead. When the latter is the case, the king seizes all the wealth of the defunct. If the patient is one esteemed by the monarch, he goes to see her at the beginning of her illness, and if she does not recover promptly, he does not go back to her again, but he sends from time to time a slave to ask after the state of her health.

Although the women in the *maḥal* treat themselves so sumptuously and display all the dignity that I have reported, Aurangzeb sees no harm. For all Mahomedans are very fond of women, who are their principal relaxation and almost their only pleasure. Further, it is an ancient custom of the Mogul kings to act in this way. As for the present king, he hardly conducts himself so pompously as his father, Shāhjahān. His clothes are very plain, and he wears few ornaments—nothing but a small plume or aigrette in the middle of his turban and a large precious stone in front; on his stomach another. He wears no strings of pearls, as all his descendants do, down to the fourth generation. His coats are always made of a very moderately-priced material, for each *qabā* (gown) does not exceed ten rupees in cost.

All the stones he wears have special names, almost always taken from some planet, such as the sun, the moon, or that of a star, or other similar names, such as he judges appropriate. He finds it strange to call for them by their own name, which would be to ask for stones; therefore when he wants to wear one he orders them to bring him the 'sun,' the 'moon,' *et cetera*.

Of these precious stones the Mogul has a quantity inherited from Taimūr-i-lang and the other kings, his predecessors, also those obtained in the conquests of the Bījājur and Gulkandah kingdoms. In addition there are those he is daily buying. This takes no account of the fact that in these days he has become master of the diamond mines, and there is no stint of stones, the largest and best. For, although King Humāyūn was dethroned and expelled from his kingdom by Sher Shāh, he did not thereby lose his jewels, for he took them away and brought them back with him [9].

When a princess is born in the *maḥal* the women rejoice, and go to great expense as a mark of their joy. If a prince is born, then all the court takes part in the rejoicings, which last several days, as the king may ordain. Instruments are played and music resounds; the nobles appear to offer their congratulations to the king, bringing presents, either in jewels, money, elephants, or horses. The same day he imposes on the infant [a name] and fixes his allowance, which is always more than that given to the highest general in the army. He furthermore nominates officials to look after the lands which have been assigned to the child. At the year's end any surplus left from the income of any such prince is kept apart in the treasury. When he is married and has a palace of his own this money is made over to him.

The allowance of no prince exceeds the rank of fifty *hazārī* (fifty thousand), that ordinarily granted to the eldest son. At the present time this is Shāh 'Ālam, who has an income of twenty millions of rupees. This prince has in his *maḥal* two thousand women, and maintains a court as superb as that of the king, his father. When these princes once leave the paternal house, they work and scheme to make themselves friends. They write secretly to the Hindū princes and the Mahomedan generals, promising them that when they become king they will raise their allowances. The others close with the bargain, and if any of these princes mounts the throne, he fancies that they have been faithful to him.

When a son is born to any of the princes it is the grandfather who fixes the child's name. He also grants an allowance,

different, however, from that of his own children, giving the child two or three hundred rupees a day. The child's father also gives something, and supports an establishment for the child according to the income assigned him. This continues until he is of marriageable age, and then he is given a grander retinue. The king's sons are called *Pacha-zadah* (*Bādshāh-zadāh*)—that is, 'Born of the King'—and the sons of princes are called *sazadah* (*shāh-zādah*)—that is, 'Born of a Prince'—and they bear the title of *Sulṭān*.

Any presents made to the king are accepted in his capacity of sovereign—that is to say, he believes or makes out that these gifts are his by right, as homage rendered to his supreme majesty. Even those of ambassadors are so considered; he receives them with demonstrations which prove his belief that in accepting he is conferring a signal favour. For he estimates himself to be the greatest monarch in the world. For this reason, when he writes to any king he designates him by the titles of consul, syndic, or president.

If anyone makes a present at court in the hope of obtaining some charge or an appointment, and, as sometimes happens, he gets nothing, his present is useless. I was witness of something of the sort, which happened to Monsieur Raisin,[1] a French merchant. He presented to the king an emerald worth one thousand rupees on the supposition that the king, in consideration of the gift, would buy all the jewels he had for sale. Yet he never bought one. Then he (Raisin) was sorry at having given the present, and spoke to Multafat Khān,[2] at that time superintendent of the king's wardrobe, and prayed that he would use influence to get him back his emerald. It is true that he obtained it, but it cost him half of what it was worth [10]. Even then it was a favour the king showed him, because he was a foreigner.

It is a custom established throughout India that without friends and without interest nothing can be done. Even princes

[1] Tavernier (Ball), ii. 304. M. Raisin is mentioned as dining along with Tavernier and another Frenchman at the table of the Augustinian Fathers who resided at the court of Gulkandah. The year was apparently 1660 or 1661.

[2] More probably it was his brother Iftikhār Khān, who became Khānsāmān (Lord Chamberlain) in the sixth year (1663-64) ('M.-ul-U.,' iii. 612).

of the blood royal, if they want to carry out any purpose, cannot do so without paying. It is such a usual thing to give and to receive that when any eunuch or any princess asks the king for something as a favour to some general or officer, be it an appointment or some other favour of any consequence, the king never omits to ask how much has been received. The other side ordinarily admit the exact amount, which the prince is aware of, and he leaves a portion with the intercessor and takes the rest himself, sending it to be locked up in the treasury.

He did not act thus, however, with the *wazīr*, Ja'far Khān. All he did was to direct one of his officers to collect together the money for the appointments granted, with instructions to render an account daily of what had been received, if the total were twenty-five thousand rupees or more; if less, no account need be sent in. Thereupon it happened one day that a certain Fidā,e Khān[1] had returned from Ilavas (Allahābād) to court. He was no friend of Ja'far Khān, so one day when presenting to the king an officer seeking employment, he said: 'This trifle has been worth twelve thousand rupees to Ja'far Khān.' The king resented so public a reproach; nevertheless he dissembled, and soon after sent Fidā,e Khān to Lāhor as governor.

Upon birthdays and other days of festival, above all on that of the New Year, when the king and the princes have themselves weighed, as I shall state farther on (III. 12)—on those days, I say, the chief ladies of the court are obliged to attend at the palace to make their compliments to the queens and princesses. From this ceremony the wives of Paṭhān captains are exempted. When the ladies attend there they never go in with empty hands, but always carry costly presents to be offered. They remain at the court until the end of the feast, which lasts usually six to nine days. The dancing-women and singing-women receive on these occasions handsome presents from the princesses and other great ladies. They either sing to compliment them on their birthday, or invoke on them all kinds of prosperity when congratulating them at the New Year.

[1] This must be the Fidā,e Khān (or A'ẓam Khān, Kokah), brother of Bahādur Khān, or Khān Jahān, Bahādur, Kokaltāsh, of whom there have been several mentions before.

The ladies respond then to all the praises, which the singing-women never fail to shower on them, by full trays of gold and silver coin which they throw to them. All the matrons receive *sarāpās* (robes) and jewels, and their allowances are increased. The great ladies are well received upon their arrival; they also obtain costly *sarāpās* (robes) and jewels. At the time when they say good-bye their hands are filled with *kicharī*, which is, in its literal meaning, a mixed dish made up of several kinds of vegetables. As to this, it must be remarked that the *kicharī* of these queens and princes is not of that sort, but, on the contrary, a mixture of gold and silver coin, with all kinds of precious stones and pearls, large and small.

The day when a prince or a princess is born they give the infant a string of yellow silk with a knot in it, which is a mark of the day he came into the world. The next year, on the same day, they make another knot, and a feast is held as before, and thus they continue to the end of life.[1] Upon the very day of birth they place in a [11] small bag the navel-string which has been severed by a thread, and for forty days the whole is left under the prince's pillow along with certain superstitious writings. At the end of the forty days the bag is hung round the child's neck, and this is never omitted in the Mogul country.

The following is the manner in which the Mogul's vassals address him, or, rather, the titles that they give to him, with their meaning:

Azarat Salamat	Ḥaẓrat salāmat	Holy in Health
Gueble Dia Danie	Qiblah-i-dīn-dunyā	The Temple of the Faith and the World
Gueble do Jania	Qiblah-i-dū jahānān	The Temple of the Two Universes
Gueble Ja Sam	Qiblah-jā-i-samā'	The Temple of the World
Alam Pana	'Ālam-panāh	The Support of the World

Usually Aurangzeb is called *Pīr-i-dastgīr*—that is, 'Holy man who removes with his hand sorrows and cares.'

When the little princes, of whom I have spoken above, have reached the age of five, they are taught to read and write the

[1] Herklots, 'Qanoone Islam,' p. 26, the *sāl-girah* (annual knot). There the string is said to be *red*, and not *yellow*.

paternal tongue, which is the Tartar, or the ancient speech of the Turks. After this they are made over to learned men and courteous eunuchs, who bring them up with great strictness, and teach them the liberal and military arts. The teachers take the greatest care to hinder the princes from acquiring bad habits. Usually to amuse them they have acted before them many comedies, or their teachers conduct before them legal argumentations, actions at law, or some imbroglio, after which judgments are pronounced. They show them combats and fights and similar things, the whole with a view to their having, should they ever obtain rule, some knowledge of the world's business, and be able to judge in every matter with discernment and without passion.

In regard to this it once happened to me that I was treating a little child of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-dīn for a small sore he had on his head. One day I said laughingly, to make him forget the pain he felt, that he must not be angry. The eunuchs and the matrons who were present found what I had said to be most extraordinary, and replying to me, they said that Mogul princes were never disturbed in mind, and all they did was void of passion and full of prudence.

When the king goes out to hunt or to visit the mosque, he takes these young princes with him. This is the mode in which they are brought up inside the palace until the age of sixteen years. At this age they are married. . . .[1] The tutors are retained all their lives in the palace with a decent pension. After a prince is married the king gives him a separate palace, with a great income and a large establishment; but along with all that he always keeps near them good tutors and most careful spies, who inform him of all that passes every day.

When these princes have gone to live in separate palaces they observe their birthday or other festival themselves in the manner I have stated (III. 10), and their officers are obliged to make them presents in proportion to their wealth. Thus, on this head it happened that in the year 1679[2] at the town of

[1] Some indecorous details are omitted.

[2] The 30th Rajab, 1090 H., which was Shāh 'Ālam's birthday, fell in 1679 on September 6, N.S. He was then thirty-seven.

Aurangābād, where Shāh 'Ālam was celebrating his birthday, the queen, his mother, then living with him, made him a present of many curiosities to the value of fifty thousand rupees, at which the prince [12] was not satisfied, and complained, saying that his mother had been very niggardly compared to other years. In this way the queen was forced into giving him more presents. The other princesses of his household in the same way gave according to their means and substance. So much is this done, that on such an occasion it is generally indispensable for everyone, small and great, to act in this way and see that their present corresponds to their means and rank.

Their year commences on the 22nd March,[1] at which time a great festival is held, as I have said (III. 10). The palaces are decked inside and out with high and costly hangings, made by order of Shāhjahān along with the throne, like a peacock, of which I have spoken (II. 34). This is of very great value, and the maker never had the felicity of seating himself upon it. Aurangzeb was the first, who, upon the day of his coronation, had the benefit of ascending this superb seat. It was placed under lofty tents, and he continues to use it on the festival day of which I speak. It is at that time the usage to place on each side of the throne, but a little lower, all the thrones used by the kings of Hindūstān who preceded the present monarch.

It is upon that day that the persons of the blood royal are weighed, according to ancient custom, in different ways—that is to say, first against seven kinds of metal, such as gold, silver, copper, iron, *et cetera ;* the second, against seven kinds of cloth—cloth of gold, cloth of silver, velvet, *et cetera ;* and the third against seven kinds of grain—that is, wheat, rice, barley, *et cetera.* All this is done to discover the difference between one year and another. All the things weighed out are given to the poor, and what everyone has weighed is recorded in a book in memory of the occasion.

The king makes great gains on that day, for everybody in the palace, and all the nobles of the court, are obliged to make him large presents. The day is called *Nauroz*—that is to say, ' New

[1] This is the old Persian year, of which the *Nauroz*, or New Year's Day, agrees with the sun's entry into Aries.

Day.' On his part, also, the king scatters his favours to his subjects by placing and displacing governors and officers, by giving jewels, elephants, and horses, and sets of robes (*sarāpās*). When he is in camp the festival is not celebrated with the same magnificence, and the thrones are not used, since they are never brought outside the fortress of Dihlī.

Another festival is also celebrated, which they call Hid Corban (*'Īd-i-qurbān*)—that is to say, 'the Festival of Sacrifice'; it comes at the end of their Lent.[1] On that day, at nine o'clock, the king comes forth from his palace with great display and majesty, and visits the great mosque, where the chief *qāẓī* awaits him, standing on a platform with seven steps. Behind him is a slave with a drawn sword in his hand, held upright.

After the first ceremonies the *qāẓī* is required to announce in a loud voice the names of all the Mogul kings, beginning with Taimūr-i-lang, [and] the years of their reign. All this he must utter with much force and eloquence. On coming to that of the then reigning king he must make a panegyric of him, with which he never fails to mix much flattering praise. He gives him the title of propagator and conservator of the Mahomedan faith. Finally, he applauds all his doings, exalting also to the best of his power his valour and equity. In giving out this discourse the *qāẓī* needs to be very careful, and display much presence of mind, for if he made any mistake and omitted something, the executioner stands ready at his back to remove his head.

This harangue having been finished, the *qāẓī* is rewarded with seven sets of robes, given him by the king. On leaving the mosque, they find standing at the bottom of the steps a camel ready for the sacrifice. The king, having mounted his horse, gives the camel a lance-thrust in the neck; or if he does not do it himself, he orders one of his children to do it. Usually when Shāh 'Ālam was at court it was [13] he who performed that ceremony, or sacrifice, as they style it. After that the

[1] N. M. here mistakes the names; the feast at the end of the Ramaẓān fast is '*Īd-ul-fiṭr*, 'Festival of Breaking the Fast.' The '*Īd-ul-qurbān* is held on the tenth day of the month Ẕu,l Ḥijjah (the twelfth month of their year).

slaves stretch it (the camel) on the ground, and divide its flesh among themselves, as if it were a saint's relics.

As I have already given a list of many names of the *maḥal* women, I consider it is not without use to give those of the principal eunuchs of the royal household, serving inside and outside that mansion, or rather prison, for the ladies.

Among these principal eunuchs there is always one set above the rest who directs and looks after everything that goes on in the *maḥal*. The man holding this office is highly esteemed by the king. He has a large allowance, has charge of the treasury, is master of the wardrobe, decides on the details and the pattern of the *sarāpās* (robes) to be prepared; in short, it is he who has charge of all the *maḥal* expenditure of the clothes, the linen, and the precious stones, of the jewellery, of everything that goes into or comes out of the palace. Each of these eunuchs has a separate title given him by the king.

Nader	Nādir	The Excellent
Danial	Danyāl	Of Good Family
Danech	Dānish	The Learned
Doulat	Daulat	Riches
Matlub	Maṭlab	Intention
Issof	Yūsuf	Goodness
Yacut	Ya'qūt	Ruby
Almas	Almās	Diamond
Semerad	Zumurrud	Emerald
Nilem	Nīlam	Sapphire
Marjan	Marjān	Coral
Macbul	Maqbūl	Graceful
Meva Jan	Mewā-i-jān	Fruit of Life
Inayat	'Ināyat	Favour
Nec nam	Neknām	Good Name
Feros	Fīrūz	Valour
Imaet	Himmat	Courage
Fata	Fatḥ	Victory
Faem	Fahīm	Learned
Mahalat [? Mahabat]	Mahābat (?)	Of Good Family
Sahadet	Sa'ādat	The Efficient
Salamat	Salāmat	Health
Ayat	Ḥaiyāt	Life
Daem	Dā,im	For Ever
Elal	Hilāl	New Moon
Balat	Balāt	Loud-voiced
Anvar	Anwar	Limited

Abnus	Abnūs	Ebony
Maharem	Maḥram	A Confidante
Amit	Amrit	The Precious
Coja Sara	Khwājah Sarā	The News-writer of the Seraglio
Holfat	Ulfat	Friendship
Macul	Ma'qūl	Prudent
Sadec	Sādiq	Confident
Maclhad	Maṣlaḥat	Imagination
Assalat	Aṣālat	Noble
Amanat	Amānat	A Deposit
Atbar	I'tibār	Faithful

All the eunuchs whose names are given above have the title of *nāẓir*—that is to say, guardian or superintendent. The kings, princes, queens, and princesses, place great confidence in these people, and each queen, princess, or other lady of quality has a *nāẓir* in charge of her property, lands, and income. All the officials, servants, and slaves are bound to account to the *nāẓir* for all they do, and for whatever they have in their hands.

This *nāẓir* generally has under him other eunuchs, young and old, of which some have access to the *maḥal*, either to carry *billets* or do other messages, as the service of the person employing them requires. There are others who are posted at the doors to see who comes in and out of the *maḥal*. They search everything with great care to stop the entry of *bhang*, wine, *ophion* (opium), nutmegs (*noix muscades*), or other drugs which could intoxicate, for all women in *maḥals* love much such beverages. Nor do they permit the entry into the place of radishes, cucumbers, or similar vegetables that I cannot name.

When any women come to pay a visit or otherwise, if they are not known they are searched, no respect being paid either to the position or rank of the person. What forces the eunuchs to such strict measures is the continual fear in which they exist that some young man in disguise might enter in female dress. When masons or carpenters, or other workmen are wanted to carry out any job, their names are registered at each gate they pass through ; the descriptive marks on their faces, and so forth, are taken down. A paper showing all this is delivered to other eunuchs, who are required to conduct them out in the same

way, and to take care that they are the same persons with the same physiognomy and the same personal marks. All this is for fear of anyone remaining inside, or any [14] change being made.

There are also at the doors women, ordinarily natives of Kashmīr, who are employed to carry away and to bring back anything that may be necessary; these women do not veil themselves to anybody. The chief doors of the *maḥal* are closed at sunset, and the principal door of all is guarded by good sentinels posted for the purpose, and a seal is attached. Torches are kept burning all night. Each of the ladies has a clock, and a scribe who is obliged to report to the *nāẓir* all that comes in or goes out, and everything that happens.

When a physician enters, he is conducted by the eunuchs with his head and body covered as far down as the waist, and he is taken out again in the same way. All the nobles exercise the same exact supervision of their women that the king does. The reason is that Mahomedans are most extraordinarily distrustful upon this chapter; and what deserves mention is that some do not even trust their own brothers, and do not permit their women to appear before them, being jealous of them. Thus the women, being shut up with this closeness and constantly watched, and having neither liberty nor occupation, think of nothing but adorning themselves, and their minds dwell on nothing but malice and lewdness. Confession of this was made to me once by one of these ladies herself.

It was the wife of Asad Khān, the *wāzīr;* her name was Naval Bāe, and she told me that her only thoughts were to imagine something by which she could please her husband and hinder his going near other women. From this I can assert that they are all the same. If they have any other thought, it is to regale themselves with quantities of delicious stews; to adorn themselves magnificently, either with clothes or jewellery, pearls, *et cetera;* to perfume their bodies with odours and essences of every kind. To this must be added that they have permission to enjoy the pleasure of the comedy and the dance, to listen to tales and stories of love, to recline upon beds of flowers, to

walk about in gardens, to listen to the murmur of the running waters, to hear singing,[1] and other similar pastimes.

There are some who from time to time affect the invalid, simply that they may have the chance of some conversation with, and have their pulse felt by, the physician who comes to see them. The latter stretches out his hand inside the curtain; they lay hold of it, kiss it, and softly bite it. Some, out of curiosity, apply it to their breast, which has happened to me several times; but I pretended not to notice, in order to conceal what was passing from the matrons and eunuchs then present, and not arouse their suspicions.

Physicians are very well treated by these ladies, and they too, on their side, maintain much discretion both in their way of acting and in their speech, which is always restrained and polished. These ladies are also very liberal in making presents to the nobles of the court, and most industrious in obtaining appointments and promotion for those that they esteem. The presents they make consist of horses, *sarapās* (robes), plumes, and other things. Very rarely is any service done them or any civility shown that they do not acknowledge it in one way or another, subject, of course, to treating everyone according to his merit, or, rather, according to how he touches the heart of the lady. Thus I have seen how the daughter of Aurangzeb acted towards the Nawāb Ẕu,lfiqār K͟hān and his father.

This Nawāb, having been sent by the king to govern the Karnātik,[2] went before starting to take leave of this princess, because he was married to one of her relations. She presented him with a box for betel-leaf and a spittoon of gold, all covered with precious stones. A year afterwards the king sent his son, Kām Bak͟hsh, to the same place, for reasons of state, under

[1] The text is here in French, and the words used are *le cong*, which I take as a misspelling of *le chant*. The only other possible word is *sankh*, but blowing that shell is hardly a harem amusement, and its use in Hindū worship makes it an abomination to Mahomedans.

[2] Kām Bak͟hsh was sent against Jinjī in the thirty-fifth year, 1102 H. (1691) 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 339. Asad K͟hān joined Kām Bak͟hsh at Kharapah (Cuddapah) on the 21st Muḥarram, 1103 H. (October 13, 1691). They reached Jinjī on the 5th Rabī' II. (December 26, 1691) (*ibid.*, 344). Zu,lfiqār K͟hān had gone there a little earlier in the year.

charge of the *wazīr* [15], Asad Khān, father of the Nawāb above named. He, too (the *wazīr*), went to bid good-bye to the same princess; she gave him a present of another box for betel, which was only of enamelled silver. Asad Khān, seeing a present of such small value, complained, and said that at the least he deserved a present equal to that of his son, for he was the father, and held higher rank, being, moreover, chief minister of the empire. The princess in reply said there was a difference, he (the son) being her relation, while he (the father) was only in their service. The good man was overcome by this retort, and having made her an obeisance such as is rendered to the king—this being done to all persons of the blood royal, however distantly related they may be—he retired.

The mode in which one bids adieu to these ladies is not such as one might imagine, for you never see them at all. Here is what happens at these meetings: First you go to the door of the *maḥal*, and there speak to the eunuchs, stating the purpose for which you have come. You say you wish your presence announced to the person from whom you are to take leave. The eunuchs carry the message and bring the reply, for, as I said, none of the ladies appear, except when they go out, when they sit in their covered seat, whence they see everything by a little window made of a netting of thread of gold. In a word, no man ever approaches these ladies except their husbands and the doctors who feel their pulses.

Nobles dismount, and from afar off make their bow; to those whom they think more highly of the ladies send word to draw near, and themselves move on for some steps at a gentle pace. Then, when they wish to proceed, they send from their seat some betel-leaf by the hand of a eunuch, as if to send their compliments and a farewell. On receiving this, the noble makes another bow and goes on his way. This is an honour that I myself have received on various occasions.

Among other occasions there was one when the king's wife, the mother of Shāh 'Ālam, was graciously pleased to give me this testimony of her goodwill towards me in recognition of my having accompanied the prince, her son, from Goa to the court. This princess showed me great affection because I had attended her

and bled her several times, in addition to which she had often to send for me, as she suffered much from gout. As it was I who prescribed for her, she often sent me some dainty, as is the fashion of these ladies to do to those they esteem. When I bled her, she put her arm out from the curtain, but wrapped up, leaving only one little spot uncovered, about as wide as two fingers, close to the veins. For that attendance I got from her four hundred rupees and a *sarāpā* (set of robes) as a present, and I bled her regularly twice a year.

It should be understood that before a European can acquire the office of physician among these princes he must be put to the proof for a long time, for they are extremely distrustful and nice in such matters. Every month the princesses and the ladies have themselves bled, which is done in the way I have above described. It is just the same when they want themselves bled in the foot, or have any wound or fistula dressed. Nothing is ever shown but the part affected, or the vein they wish opened. When I bled the wives and daughters of Shāh 'Ālam, each of them gave me two hundred rupees and a *sarāpā*; but when I had to bleed that prince who was my employer, and he was at the court, I could not do it without the leave of the king. For this bleeding I got four hundred rupees, a *sarāpā*, and a horse.

When I had finished I had to report [16] to the king the quantity of blood I had drawn, what was the prince's reigning humour, and reply according to circumstances to the inquiries made by the king on this subject. After this he would give me my dismissal, granting me a *sarāpā*. For each bleeding of one of the prince's sons I received two hundred rupees, a *sarāpā*, and a horse.

Since I have spoken of physicians, and the way the princes and princesses act towards them, I shall state here that the Mogul himself is extremely choice and scrupulous over the selection of his physicians, appointing always the most learned and the most experienced, in order the better to preserve his health. What is more, as there are so many people in his palace, and his court extraordinarily numerous, he keeps in his employ several physicians, to whom the following names are

given, which agree either with their knowledge or the treatment and cures they have accomplished :

Aquim Busurg	Ḥakīm-i-buzurg	Great Physician
Aquim Elmulq	Ḥakīm-ul-mulk	Physician of the Country
Aquim Bina	Ḥakīm-i-bīnā	Physician of Sight
Aquim Mossen	Ḥakīm-i-muḥsin	Beneficent Physician
Aquim Janbalch	Ḥakīm-i-jān-bakhsh	Life-giving Physician
Aquim Momena	Ḥakīm-i-mu'min	Physician of Believers
Aquim Muzin	Ḥakīm-i-muzaiyan	Physician in Place
Aquim Fased	Ḥakīm-i-fāẓil	Instructed Physician
Aquim Abdul Fata	Ḥakīm 'Abd-ul-fattāḥ	Physician Slave of Victory
Aquim Taccarrob can	Ḥakīm Taqarrub Khān	Favoured Physician
Aquim Salle	Ḥakīm Ṣalāḥ	Good-natured Physician
Aquim Nabas	Ḥakīm Nabẓ	Physician of the Pulse
Aquim Alayar	Ḥakīm Allahyār	Physician Cherished by God
Aquim Nader	Ḥakīm Nādir	Physician Unparalleled
Aquim Coda Doste	Ḥakīm Khudā-dost	Physician Friend of God
Aquim Faradbach	Ḥakīm Farāḥ-bakhsh	Physician Giving Repose
Aquim Emteriani[1]		Physician Divine
Aquim Badan	Ḥakīm Badan	Physician of the Body
Aquim Becata	Ḥakīm Be-khaṭā (?)	Faultless Physician
Aquim Moccorrom can	Ḥakīm Mukarrab Khān	Physician Assistant
Aflutum El zamana	Aflāṭūn-uz-zamānah	Plato of the Century
Aristu El zamana	Arisṭū-uz-zamānah	Aristotle of the Century
Jalisny El zamana	Jālīnūs-uz-zamānah	Galen of the Century
Pocraig El zamana	Buqrāṭ-uz-zamānah	Hippocrates of the Century
Bualy El zamanah	Bu'Alī-uz-zamānah	Bu Ali (Avicenna) of the Century

All the physicians whose names are recorded above are Persians by race. Those bearing the title of *khān*—that is, 'noble'—have a gross allowance of from twenty, thirty, fifty, one hundred, to two hundred thousand rupees a year. I have seen among them men who cured hot complaints with cooling remedies. Few of them know anything about, or can cure, the stone, paralysis, apoplexy, dropsy, anæmia, malignant fevers, or other difficult complaints. They follow the ancient books of medicine, which say a great deal, but tell very little. However, illnesses in the Mogul country are very easy to cure, owing to the heat, which causes perspiration and thus relieves the patient.

[1] This may be 'Abd-ur-raḥmān, 'Abd-ur-raḥīm, 'Abd-ur-rabbānī, or 'Abd-ur-rūḥāni ; but none of these is an appropriate title for a physician, nor do they mean 'Divine,' but 'Slave of God.'

When these physicians enter the seraglio (*maḥal*) the eunuchs lead them, their heads covered with something thick, which falls as low as their stomach, as I have already said, and they are brought back equipped in the same fashion.

It is the habit of these kings to have usually in their service seven thousand slaves of different nations, and some among them are established as chiefs to govern and guide the rest. The king gives them names, and in my time these chief slaves were called as follows. I append a list, in which one will not be displeased at finding the meanings as entered below :

Hiaesi Bahuder	Ghiyāṣ Bahādur (?)	Good and Brave
Farrad	Furādā	Haughty or High
Nec Ruy	Nek-roz	Good Morning
Nec Cadam	Nek-qadam	Good Prince
Nec Del	Nek-dil	Good Heart [17]
Nec Niet	Nek-nīyat	Good Intention
Serrotār	Sar-utār	Meeting (?)
Ilachi	Ilāechī	Grain of Paradise [cardamom][1]
Mabarec	Mubārak	The Well Placed
Bactavar	Bakhtāwar	Good Fortune
Uchara	Ishārah	Vigilant
Faim	Fahīm	Judgment
Zirac	Zīrak	Understanding
Cuchala	Khūshḥāla	Happy
Chalawa	Chalāwā	Good Walker
Doulat	Daulat	Riches
Salamat	Salāmat	Health
Mahama	Mahāmā (?)	Repose
Nazer Bahader	Naẓar Bahādur	Valiant Sight
Jam sid	Jamshīd	Divining Cup
Hiay	Ḥayā	Shame
Esselam	Aslam	In the Faith
Ala Berdy	Allah-wirdī	God took him
Faridum	Farīdūn	Great among the Little
Matalub	Maṭlab	Wish
Mamara	Ma'mūr	Replete
Massur	Mashhūr	Clear
Azer	Ḥāẓir	Present
Niamat	Ni'mat	Ragout

[1] Mr. D. Ferguson says: 'The word has long been familiar to me as the alternative name for Guinea grains or Malajucta grains. See "New English Dictionary," s.v. Cardamom, Grains (4*a*), and Guinea.'

Tara	Tārā	Shining
Corcom	Khurram	Happiness
Delavar	Dil-āwar	Lively
Atam	Hātim	Liberal
Sujan	Sujān	Discreet
Maharam	Maḥram	Confidante
Macbul	Maqbūl	Gentle
Elal	Hilāl	New Moon
Belal	Balāl	Shouter
Cambar	Qamar	Full Moon
Nazer	Naẓar	Sight

These are the names of the king's principal slaves. They are all gentlemen troopers, and have good pay. Set over all the slaves are two captains, and the horsemen are three thousand in number, the foot or infantry four thousand. They have various employments, both within the household and in other duties connected with it. They are resorted to when some *coup* has been decided on; it is they who write about it, and execute the royal commands. In addition, they are used as spies to report what is going on, as well among the nobles as the common people.

Just as these princes give names to the queens, the princesses, and all the other ladies of the *maḥal*, so do they impose them upon many other things which they use, such as their swords and shields, their finest horses, their elephants, their heavy artillery, and the principal generals in their army. Of all of these will be given lists, each separately, with the meaning opposite each name. With these I will include the names of several Hindū princes and others of that race. At present I make a beginning by the names of the *cattarres* (*kaṭārah*), or sabres of the king, which are as follows:

Duch man Coch	Dushman-kush	Killer of Enemies
Var par	Wār-pār	From Side to Side
Bigily	Bijlī	Lightning
Be cata	Be-khaṭā	Without Fault
Duch man setan	Dushman-sitān	Menacer of the Enemy
Be gererem	Be-qarārī (?)	Devoid of Doubt
Alam satam	'Ālam-sitān	World Astonisher
Abdar	Ābdār	Fine-tempered
Fate Lascar	Fatḥ-i-lashkar	Army Vanquisher
Kam kam	Qamqām	The Worker

Kafar Coch	Kāfir-kush	Infidel-slayer
Cha Enaet	Shāh-'ināyat	Royal Gift
Duch man Pe	Dushman-paī	Enemy-pursuer
Zauro Catell	Zahr-i-qātil	Murderous-poison
Coda Baech	Khudā-bakhsh	God-given
Ali madat	Ā'lā-madad	Great Assistance
Atiar	Hathī-yār	Hand's Friend
Damdar	Damdār	Life-giving
Farque Dota	Fāriq-i-du-tāh	Divider in Two
Camarzeb	Kamar-zeb	Waist Adorner
Alamguir	'Ālamgīr	World Conqueror (the one Aurangzeb usually carries in his hand)
Hiar Bafadar	Yār-i-wafādār	Faithful Friend
Hioson Gusar	Joshan-guzār	Helmet-cleaver
Zore zareb	Zor-ẓarb	Violent Stroke
Zolom Coch	Ẓālim-kush	Tyrant-slayer
Zarab	Zahr-āb	Venomous
Fate Alam	Fatḥ-i-'Ālam	World Conquest [18]

The king values all these swords very much; they have gold hilts covered with costly stones. The daggers are also made in the same fashion, and they are of three kinds, called *canjar* (*khanjar*), *banc* (*bānk*), and *cataris* (*katārah*). The king gives them names much the same as those of the swords. Every Friday morning this prince inspects them as part of his devotions, and asks of God that with them he may obtain victory. These swords and daggers have come down from the ancient kings. The prince gives them away to no one, not even to his own children; as to those of which he makes presents to the generals and captains, they are swords that he orders to be made expressly, or that he buys, or else those acquired in some conquered country.

Names of the King's Shields.

Aftab Alem	Āftāb-i-'Ālam	Sun of the World
Matab Alam	Mahtāb-i-'Ālam	Moon of the World
Sae Alam	Sāyah-i-'Ālam	Shadow of the World
Roshonay Alem	Roshanāe-'Ālam	Splendour of the World

Besides the shields herein given, there are many others made of rhinoceros hide, which will resist a musket-ball. There is a different kind, made of buffalo hide, which an arrow cannot

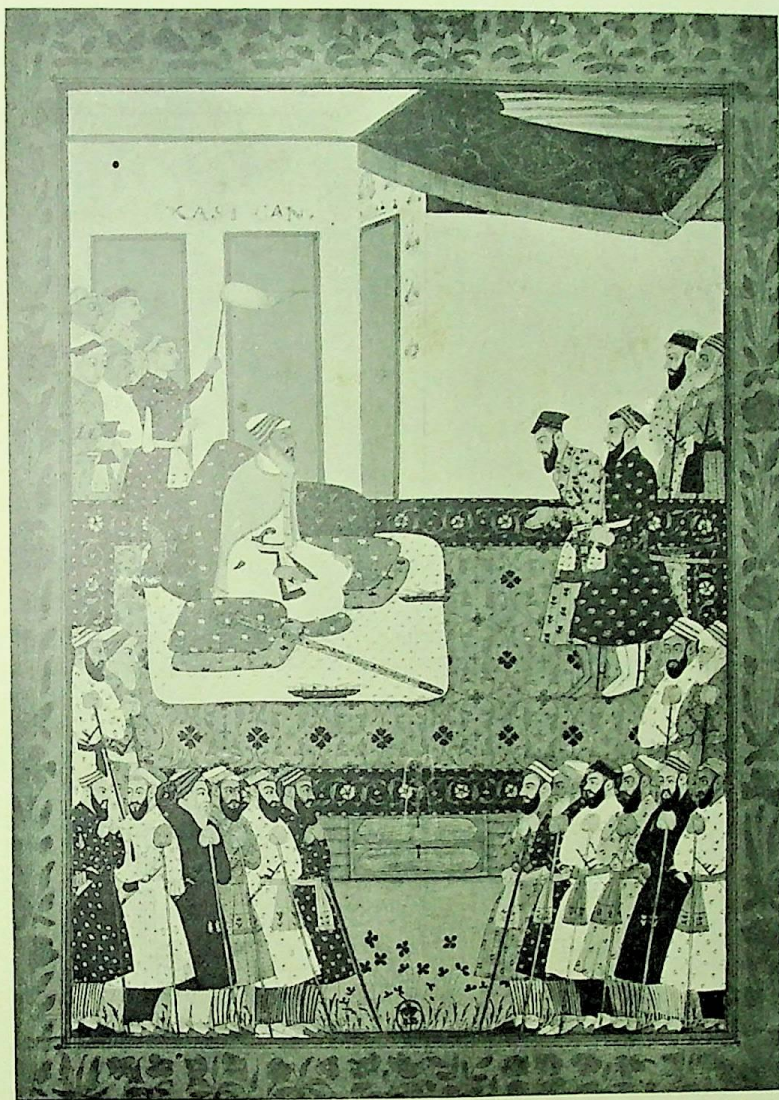
penetrate, and it is some of these that are presented to officers.

NAMES OF THE PRINCIPAL HORSES RIDDEN BY THE KING.

Bad Raftar	Bād-raftār	Agile as the Wind
Cosh Raftar	Khūsh-raftār	Good Mover
Chaa Passand	Shāh-pasand	Approved by the King
Dil Roba	Dil-rubā	Heartily Loved
Surrot Siret	Ṣūrat-sīrat	Art and Judgment
Coch Andam	Khūsh-andām	Fine Posture
Coe Tella	Koh-i-ṭilā	Gold Mountain
Coe Necro	Koh-i-nuqrah	Silver Mountain
Zemidoz	Zamīn-doz	Field-flyer
Cochad Raftar	Kushādah-raftār	Wide-stepper
Radar	Rāhdār	Speedy
Forga	Farjah	Expert Goer
Serbeland	Sar-buland	High Head
Torai Garden	Tura,ī-gardan	Arched Neck [*tura,ī*, a trumpet]
Ans	'Ans	Eagle
Manec	Mānik	Jewel
Lal Bebaha	Lāl-be-bahā	Priceless Amadavat[1]
Ira jot	Hīrā-jot	Diamond Lustre
Polvari	Phulwārī	The Flowering
Caldar	Kaldār	Marked
Ablac	Ablaq	Piebald
Zuderas	Zūd-ras	Quick-goer
Bedel	Be-dil	Despairing
Delavar	Dil-āwar	Animated
Chinasor	Sīnah-zor	Strong-chested
Char Raftar	Shāh-raftār	Royal Stepping
Baz	Bāz	Falcon
Ain	Hiran (?)	Gazelle
Be-aram	Be-ārām	Restless
Aram	Ārām	Repose
Ab Ravan	Āb-i-rawān	Flowing Water
Tes Ro	Tez-rau	Fast Mover
Chaman	Samand	The Sea[2]
Sanjab	Sanjāb	Ash-coloured

All these horses that I have named are ridden by the king. The names he gives them refer either to their action, their size, or their colour; they are Arabs, Persians, or the finest horses from Turkey. The rest he names according to the

[1] Should be 'Priceless Ruby' (*la'l*)?

[2] *Samand*, a high-bred or bay-coloured horse, is mistaken for *Samudra*, the sea.

XXII. SHĀISTAH KHĀN, MATERNAL UNCLE OF AURANGZEB.

results of trying them. They are marked thus q on the near quarter. They are provided with good grooms, are well looked after, and well trained; thus nothing is wanting to these animals, either in the way of food or sumptuous equipment. As their morning feed they get bread mixed with butter and sugar, and in the evening cooked rice, and cow's milk, in which there are pepper-corns, cumin-seed, anise-seed, and betel. All these are given to reduce any flatulence in their insides.

Two hours before the king mounts his horse the chief groom mounts it without his shoes on (a mark of respect), and rides it up and then down, so as to make it more willing and free its stomach. When the king does go riding it is not from necessity, but choice. For this reason he changes his position frequently—one hour on the throne [the *takht-i-rawān*, a sort of sedan-chair], another on an elephant. The horses the king rides are trained to stand fire and anything else likely to frighten them. By a custom which has lasted at this court since Taimūr-i-lang, who began it, four horses, ready saddled for any emergency, are kept near the door of the *Ghusl-khānah*, the place where audience is given and justice dispensed. When the king wishes to gratify any of his children, he makes him a present of one of his favourite horses, along with twenty or fifty others of the ordinary sort, about which I will discourse more amply hereafter (III. 27) [19].

The names of the chief elephants on which the king rides, and the way they are kept, are as follows:

Orang gas	Aurang-gaj	Throne-elephant, the Captain of all the Elephants
Calec Dad	Khāliq-dād	Creator-given
Memun Mabarecq	Maimūn-mubārak	Highly Sedate
Codad Dad	Khudā-dād	God-given
Surou Ziret	Sarv-sairat	Pretty Artist
Rael Cusha	Rel-kashā	The Worker
Dil passand	Dil-pasand	Heart's Friend
Buch Bahadur	Bakht-Bahādur (?)	Valiant with the Cut Ear
Hiec Danta	Yak-dāntā	One-tusked
Cabra	Kabrā [Hindī]	Enamelled Head [or Speckled]
Madan Mast	Mudām-mast	Ever-bold
Sada Mast	Sadā-mast	Always Drunk

Nim Ta	Nimṭāo	Expert
Dil Cocha	Dil-kushā	Heart-opener
Baba Bach	Bābā-bakhsh	Father's Gift
Nec Bach	Nek-bakht	Handsome
Mac Na	Maknah	Tuskless
Come Ria	Kamari	Short [in back]
Belia	Buland	Tall
Sarila	Sarilā	Polished
Latif	Laṭīf	Exquisite
Nar Sing	Nar Singh	Male Lion
Quo Dero	Khūb-rau	Fine Mover
Fate Mabarecq	Fatḥ Mubārak	Fortune of Victory
Dil Dalel	Dil-diler	Heart of Hearts
Chainaet	Shāh-'ināyat	Royal Gift
Inae Bach	'Ināyat-bakhsh	Gift of Grace
Ala Bach	Allāh-bakhsh	God-protected
Fate nasaret	Fatḥ-nuṣrat	Victor Victorious
Daem Chacu	Dā,im-shukoh	Ever Great
Dilasa Charot	Dilāsā-sairat	Polished Face
Fate Jang	Fatḥ-jang	Victory in War
Fate Lascar	Fatḥ-lashkar	Army Conqueror
Rar Git	Ran-jīt	Overcomer in War
Dul Singar	Dal-singār	Army Ornament
Lascar Soba	Lashkar-sobhā	Army Beauty
Dusman Cut	Dushman-kush	Enemy-treader
Cala Paar	Kālā-pahār	Black Mountain
Gas onor	Ghuṣṣah-war	Industrious
Quecha vorcucha	Kashāwar-kashā	Faithful Worker
Zell Zella	Zalzalah	Earth-shaker
Cuny	Khūnī	The Slayer
Cof Nay	Khauf-nāk	Frightener
Mahan Mohan	Madan-mohan	Heart-ravisher
Ma Mohon	Mahā-mohan	Amorous
Op tum	Uttam	Exquisite
Bagmar	Bāgh-mār	Lion-slayer
Pur zor	Pūr-i-zor	Full of Strength
Maha Ru	Māh-rū	Moon-faced
Setara	Sitārā	Star
Quechavar Gurur	Kashāwar-gharūr	The Proud
Sonder Gas	Sundar-gaj	Good Name
Pay Tat	Pāe-takht	Foot of the Throne
Otha Chi	Ātashī	Burning
Nur	Nūr	Dawn
Lal	La'l	Ruby
Ira	Hīrā	Diamond
Coch Raftar	Khūsh-raftār	Good Mover
Thes Roeh	Tez-rau	Quick Walker
Manec Surot	Mānik-ṣūrat	Pearl-like

Bay La	Baghelā	Lion's Whelp
Daem Nasser	Dā,im-naṣr	Always Advancing
Jund Cuor	Chand-kuṇwar (?)	Good Ball
Queleso Can	Qila'h-shikan	Fortress-destroyer
Coeh Secan	Koh-shikan	Mountain-destroyer
Coch Saquel	Khūsh-sakīl	Supreme Beauty

The greater number of these names are Hindū. *Gas* (*gaj*) means an elephant, and although several slaves, of one and the other sex, have similar names, one must not be astonished, for the king gives these names according to his fancy or some aptitude he detects in these animals.

Usually the king has one hundred very tall elephants which he uses himself, and there are also female elephants, on whom he does not disdain to ride. All the elephants he rides are trained to stand fire of both artillery and musketry, of rockets, and other fireworks. This is done so that when they come across such things they may not be afraid. Others are taught not to be frightened of tigers or of lions, so that they may be used in hunting. To teach them, they take a tiger-skin or lion-skin, and stuff it with straw. Then, just as if it were alive, they move it here and there by a rope. The driver encourages the elephant, and urges him towards the dummy, which with feet and trunk he tears to pieces. The elephants are well looked after; they are given spirits to drink to increase their courage in a fight. It is the rule that there shall always be one elephant on sentry duty day and night on the river bank [20], stationed within a little gateway just underneath the royal seat.

Among these animals is one stronger and taller than the rest which bears the title of 'General of the Elephants.' When he appears at court he is very richly caparisoned, and attended by a number of other elephants, by flutes, trumpets, cymbals, and flags, all of which makes a grand show. The chief elephants have every day for their ration each one hundred and sixty-five pounds of food-stuff—namely, flour, rice, meat, butter, fine spices, and thirty pounds of sugar-cane. This is in addition to straw, grass, and leaves, for which they have twenty-five rupees a day. To wait on each elephant there are ten servants—that is, two drivers to ride on and direct him; two to fix on his

chains; two men with spears; two for the fireworks and to assist the others, if necessary; one to remove the dung, and another to give him water for drinking and cooling himself. All these men are paid out of the twenty-five rupees a day allotted to the elephant, and these attendants have each four rupees a month, besides what they can steal from the elephant's food.

In addition to the above elephants there are fourteen hundred others that are employed to carry the queens, princesses, and the prince's concubines, the tents, the baggage, and the kitchen utensils. The strongest of all, who have no tusks, draw the heavy artillery over difficult ground and perform such-like duties. The lowest among them has three rupees a day and three servants. All the elephants move with bells attached to their body, serving to warn the passers-by and give them time to move and get out of the way; for when an elephant runs, or merely walks, he does not stop like a horse would.

When the king makes them (the elephants) fight, the wives of the drivers remove their ornaments, smash their bracelets, and put on mourning, just as if they were widows. If their husbands come back alive they give a great feast, just as if newly married; for in these encounters and combats the drivers put their lives in great jeopardy, as I have seen several times. Moreover, though these animals are enormously strong, they do not have long lives, for often they fall suddenly to the ground and die in a short time. For, once they have fallen down, there is no hope of getting them up again; that is why they remove their tusks and leave them where they are.

The Mogul has within his empire many great forests and mountainous regions where it would be easy to let loose some of these animals to multiply. But this is not done; the king observes the rules of his predecessors, who, ages ago, were told by astrologers that the male must not be allowed to approach the female, in case they might have young. That event would menace the empire with misfortune, and be of very bad augury. Hereafter (III. 144) I will speak of the manner in which these beasts produce young, the method of capture, also about the dogs of the country, and other curious matters [21].

The names of the principal cannon at the court are:

Orang var	Aurang-bār	Strength of the Throne
Calle can	Kāle Khān	Great House
Bigily Passant	Bijlī-pasand	Rajah-pusher
Band Cassab	Band-kushāo	Cruel Killer
Dal Dani	Daldalī	Black Cinders
Fata Lascar	Fatḥ-i-lashkar	Army Victor
Ati Tel	Hāthī-thal	Elephant Empress
Dobtol Maydan	Daulat-i-maidān	Riches of the Camp
Mulve Maydan	Malik-i-maidān	Destructress of the Camp [Aurangzeb found one exactly the same when he took Bījāpur]
Jang Aumar	Jang-āwar	Bail for War
Sitom	Sitam	Punisher
Delavar	Dilāwar	Lively
Chae naet	Shāh-'ināyat	Royal Gift
Daem Cuchat	Dā,im-kushād	Wide Mouth
Tir Cor	Tīr-khor	Valley-consumer
Barge Sican	Burj-shikan	Bastion-breaker
Nacer Aby	Nāṣir-ābī	Conqueror in Water
Chae Doblot	Shāh Daulat	Royal Riches
Ser Cuchat	Sar-kushādah	Wide-headed
Nechan Rach	Nishān-i-rāst	Straight-hitter
Bec Cata	Be-khatā	Faultless
Zafar Mulq	Ẓafar-i-mulk	Conqueror of the Earth
Cha aramcor	Shāh-harām-khor	Rebel-conqueror
Chor Car	Shor-kār	Noise and War
Nam Dar	Nāmdār	Famous
Ganie avor	Ghanī-āwar	His Highness
Jang Talem	Jang-ṭālib	Desirous for War
Zal Zelah	Zalzalah	Terror of the Earth
Ser Cor	Sher-khor (?)	Earth-consumer
Johan Taleb	Jahān-ṭālib	World-desiring
Sitab Dam	Shitāb-dam	Quick-firer
Tum Darec	Ṭumṭurāq	Prompt-goer
Dasnir	Dastūr	Custom
Nazer Noma	Naẓar-numā	Clear-sighted
Zolom Alam	Ẓālim-i'Ālam	Tyrant of the World
Babal fata	Bāb-ul-fatḥ	Gate-conqueror
Tars	Tars	Fear
Cozana Couchad	Khazānah-kushād	Treasure-opener
Duchman Coch	Dushman-kush	Enemy-slayer
Atash parsha	Ātash-pazhoh	Fire-piece
Tafan	Ṭūfān	Whirlwind
Rad	Ra'd	Thunder
Fayan Car	Fahīm-kār (?)	Sound or Noise

Pur Nar	Pūr-i-nār	Full of Fire
Zolom Coch	Ẕālim-kush	Tyrant-slayer
Amac Abad	Aḥmaq-ābād	Teacher of Fools
Dad Bedad	Dād-bedād	Unjust
Cana Carab	Khānah-i-kharāb	Household-ruiner
Guiran vazan	Girān-wazn	Dear and Heavy
Adam Cor	Ādam-khor	Man-eater
Lascar Cor	Lashkar-khor	Army-eater
Chaa burgi	Shāh-burjī	Royal Bastion
Aft tios	Haft-josh	Seven Metals
Alamgir	'Ālam-gīr	World-taker
Coch Acol	Khūsh-'aql	Good Judgment
Zor Zabar	Zor-zabr	Violent
Mulq Zabar	Mulk-zabr	World-violent
Arrangan	Arghawān[1]	Strength
Mac Chud	Maqṣūd	Intention
Car Anyan	Kār-anjām	Work-doer
Atash Car	Ātash-kār	Work of Fire

The above comprises the principal and best artillery the Mogul possesses at his court. When he goes on a campaign he has some of these pieces carried with him, those taking a ball of from twenty to one hundred and twenty pounds. I also noticed that during the time of the war against the King of Bījāpur he sent some of those pieces to Diler Khān and Bahādur Khān [22].

The names of the principal generals, with the meanings, are :

Vizir Can	Wazīr Khān	The Chief Minister
Jafar Can	Ja'far Khān	Flourishing
Zafar Can	Ẓafar Khān	Victorious
Azel Can	Fāẓil Khān	Experienced
Chaaiste Can	Shā,istah Khān	Perfect
Alimarda Can	'Alī Mardān Khān	Great among Men
Aset Can	Asad Khān	Lion
Chaf Chequen Can	Ṣaf Shikan Khān	Field-clearer
Fadae Can	Fidā,e Khān	Sacrifice
Baramud Can	Barāmad Khān	Vanquisher
Buala Can	Bū 'Alī Khān	God's Dawn
Calilula Can	Khalīlullah Khān	God's Least One
Mir Can	Mīr Khān	Great Captain
Sic Mir	Shekh Mīr	Captain of Faithful
Asadula Can	Asadullah Khān	Lion of God

[1] 'Red,' a name of the planet Mars.

Lutfula Can	Luṭfullah Khān	God's Grace
Maharmat Can	Marаḥmat Khān	Given
Bam Near	Baman-yār	My Friend
Facar Can	Fakhr Khān	The Great
Mostecar Can	Mustaqar Khān	Taker of Favour
Cassam Can	Qāsim Khān	The Sharer
Amed Can	Ḥāmid Khān	The Chosen
Janet	'Ināyat	Favour
Nacir Can	Nāṣir Khān	Victorious
Ranemast Can	Ranmast Khān	Bold in War
Dalel Can	Diler Khān	Animated
Bahader Can	Bahādur Khān	Brave
Adula Can	'Abdullah Khān	Slave of God
Asis Can	'Azīz Khān	Beloved
Sahadet Can	Sa'ādat Khān	Fortunate
Alayar Can	Allahyār Khān	God's Friend
Dinder Can	Dīndār Khān	Firm in Faith
Nezabt Can	Najābat Khān	Noble
Kaen Can	Qā,im Khān	Constant
Mahobet Can	Mahābat Khān	Loved
Nuchur Can	Naurūz Khān	New Day
Can Cana	Khān Khānān	Noble of the House
Afiet Can	'Āfiyat Khān	Profitable
Nec Nam Can	Neknām Khān	Good Name
Baravar Can	Barāwar Khān	Gainer
Amanet Can	Amānat Khān	Deputy
Queranda Can	Khair-andesh Khān	Good Care
Carazat Can	Khānahzād Khān	Brought up in the House
Molfet Can	Multafat Khān	Loving
Facordin Can	Fakhr-ud-dīn Khān	Praise of Faith
Salle Can	Ṣāliḥ Khān	Obliging, Useful
Canezam Can	Khān A'ẕam Khān	Great of the Age
Camordin Can	Qamar-ud-dīn Khān	Moon of Faith
Feat Can	Fayyāẓ Khān (?)	Profitable
Jahan nezar Can	Jān-niṣār Khān	Sacrificed
Jahan sopar Can	Jān-sipār Khān	Life-sacrificer
Suyavar Can	Shujā'-war Khān	Valour
Chefi Can	Shafī' Khān	Alert
Baim Can	Bīnā Khān	Pitiable
Semchir Can	Shamsher Khān	Great Sword
Fosdar Can	Faujdār Khān	Lord of the Army
Mirza Sultan	Mirzā Sulṭān	Chief Captain
Mirza Nauzer Can	Mirzā Nauẕar Khān	Captain of New Coin
Gaeb Nazer Can	Ghāib-nāẕir Khān	Seeing the Future
Danesbad Can	Dānishmand Khān	Philosopher
Maharam Can	Maḥram Khān	Confidante
Salabet Can	Ṣalābat Khān	Majestic
Quifaet Can	Kifāyat Khān	Acquirer

		Intention
Cammiab Can	Kāmyāb Khān	Powerful
Rostum Can	Rustam Khān	Renowned
Namdar Can	Nāmdār Khān	Firm
Kaemgar Can	Kāmgar Khān	Divine
Asmat Can	A'ẓmat Khān	Just
Adel Can	'Ādil Khān	Full Heart
Purdel Can	Purdil Khān	Perfect in Faith
Camaludin Can	Kamāl-ud-dīn Khān	Crowned in the Faith
Chaabudin Can	Shahāb-ud-dīn Khān	Pedant in Faith
Que Azudin Can	Ghiyāz-ud-dīn Khān	Sword [the word is Turkish]
Guelis Can	Qilīch Khān	Strong-handed
Zabar Dest Can	Zabardast Khān	King of Strength
Chaazor Can	Shāh-zor Khān	For Ever
Dahem Can	Dā,im Khān	Victorious
Fate yan Can	Fatḥ-yāb Khān	Clearness
Mazar Can	Maẓhar Khān	He of the Sword
Julfacar Can	Ẓu,lfiqār Khān	Good and Great
Zenali Can	Zain 'Alī Khān	Sage or Learned
Afzel Can	Afẓal Khān	David
Daut Can	Dā,ūd Khān	The Great Diwān
Ganiali Can	Jān 'Alī Khān	Abraham
Ebraim Can	Ibrāhīm Khān	Alert
Assen Can	Ḥasan Khān	Great Head
Sarfaras Can	Sarfarāz Khān	Devout
Zaquer Can	Ẓākir Khān	Well-meaning
Dianet Can	Diyānat Khān	Of Good Family
Assolet Can	Aṣālat Khān	Great Flower
Miragol Can	Mīrān Gul Khān	Of Good Fame
Mobares Can	Mubārak Khān	Arrived
Rassod Can	Rashīd Khān	Delights
Diamaut Can	Ni'mat Khān (?)	Victorious by God
Fatula Can	Fatḥ-ullah Khān	Victorious in War
Gazafar Can	Ghaẓanfar Khān	The Guide
Addi Can	Hādī Khān	Flower
Abach Can	Ḥabshī Khān (?)	Astonishment
Ahe Bet Can	Haibat Khān	Riches
Naby Can	Nabī Khān	Hatchet
Tabar Can	Tabar Khān	God's Grace [23]
Chuchurula	Khusrū, Chela (?) or Allāh (?)	Steadfast
Etcad Can	I'tiqād Khān	Honoured
Izet Can	'Izzat Khān	Conqueror in War
Rangit Can	Ranjīt Khān	Great Fire
Atach Can	Ātash Khān	Great Lightning
Barcandas Can	Barqandāz Khān	World-seizer
Janguir Can	Jahāngīr Khān	Good Sight
Cochnazar Can	Khūsh-naẓar Khān	Advice
Aref Can	'Ārif Khān	Profit
Abdul bafa	'Abd-ul-wafā	

Abdul fata	'Abd-ul-fattāḥ	Victory
Abdul Azis	'Abd-ul-'azīz	Slave of God
Abdur Razac	'Abd-ur-razzāq	Daily Bread
Camel Can	Kāmil Khān	Greatness
Osdar Can	Hoshdār Khān	Quick-witted

All the persons here dealt with are Mahomedans by religion, but of different races. They are the principal noblemen in Hindūstān, and the king confers these names either as a mark of distinction and of the esteem he holds them in by reason of their services, or else from friendship and liking. These lords can acquire more wealth as well as more titles—that is to say, when any new title is given them their allowance is augmented. At present there is a very great number of them; but in Shāhjahān's days it was not so, and it was very hard to acquire these titles, for it was at once necessary to give a heavy payment and produce enough to maintain a great display. But nowadays Aurangzeb pays less heed to the matter, and gives the titles but with much less pay. 'Can' (Khān) means 'noble.'

The way in which the Mogul king pays his soldiers, the captains and generals of his armies, the rajahs, the queens, the princes and princesses of his blood, was all laid down by King Akbar, in different fashions, to demonstrate his greatness.[1]

Hi hec Bisti (*Yak-bīstī*)—that is, 'A Twenty.'

It is necessary to state that these kings pay every one of those above-named according to three different titles or degrees. The highest and first title is called 'of twelve,' the second 'of six,' and the third 'of four months.' But it is so arranged, however, that he who has only pay of the third class receives in the year the amount promised him, or even somewhat in

[1] In this section on *manṣab* (official rank), and the pay attached to it, Manucci does not seem to have penetrated to the real meaning of the system. He couples the rank (*manṣab*) and the pay together, as if the one directly indicated the other. But in the phrase (let us say) 'a *Hazārī*' (of or belonging to 1,000), the suppressed noun is not 'rupees,' but 'horsemen.' A *Hazārī* appointment means, to start with, 'command over 1,000 horsemen'; hence the discrepancies in the rates, which Manucci only makes more obscure. The tables and remarks in Blochmann's 'Ā,īn-i-Akbarī,' vol. i., pp. 236-249, should consulted.

excess. The others receive much more. To make the matter clearer, you must know that when the king gives a horseman twenty rupees a month in the first class, he ought to receive seven hundred and fifty rupees in the year; in the second, three hundred and seventy-five; and in the third, two hundred and fifty. This last is the amount that pay at twenty rupees a month comes to plus ten rupees. This sum is thus given because it is a rule made by King Akbar, as I have said. According to the above you can calculate all the different sorts of pay that exist, by following the more detailed account which I am about to give.

Another thing is that when a man has risen to the amount of one thousand rupees, when he is called *azari* (*hazārī*), the pay increases considerably; for this reason it is unnecessary to see whether it is or is not much above the others according to the rule of proportion. When we get to five *hazārīs*—that is, 'five thousand'—the pay rises still more above that of the 'thousand,' a matter that will seem to the reader very strange; but such is the custom and the established rule, from which in this country there is hardly ever any dispensation [24].

Do Bisti—that is, 'Two Twenties.'

When a man has forty rupees a month in the first class of twelve months, he receives in the year five thousand rupees; in the second class, of six months, seven hundred and fifty; and in the third class, of four months, five hundred. The king fixes these rates according to the merit and the services of the persons, sometimes from favour or caprice, or in many cases from the man's sheer luck and good fortune; for in India, as elsewhere, virtue is not always rewarded.

Ce Bisti (*Sih-bīstī*)—that is, 'Three Twenties.'

When a man gets sixty rupees a month in the first class, he receives annually two thousand two hundred and fifty rupees; in the second, one thousand one hundred and twenty-five; and in the third, seven hundred and fifty.

Charbisti (*Chahār Bīstī*)—that is to say, 'Four Twenties.'

When a man has eighty rupees a month in the first class, he receives annually three thousand rupees; in the second, one thousand five hundred; and in the third, one thousand.

Hi Hec Sadi (*Yak-ṣadī*)—that is, 'One Hundred.'

When a man has one hundred rupees a month in the first class, he receives annually three thousand seven hundred and fifty rupees; in the second, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five; and in the third, twelve hundred and fifty.

Do Sadi (*Dū-ṣadī*)—that is, 'Two Hundred.'

When a man has two hundred rupees a month in the first class, he receives seven thousand five hundred rupees a year; in the second, three thousand seven hundred and fifty; and in the third, two thousand five hundred.

Sih Sadi (*Sih-ṣadī*)—that is, 'Three Hundred.'

When a man has three hundred rupees a month in the first class, he receives annually eleven thousand two hundred and fifty rupees; in the second, five thousand six hundred and twenty-five; and in the third, three thousand seven hundred and fifty.

Char Sadi (*Chahār-ṣadi*)—that is, 'Four Hundred.'

When a man has four hundred rupees a month in the first class, he receives annually fifteen thousand rupees; in the second, seven thousand five hundred; and in the third, five thousand.

Pange Sadi (*Panj-ṣadī*)—that is, 'Five Hundred.'

When a man has five hundred rupees a month in the first class, he receives eight thousand seven hundred and fifty rupees; and in the third, six thousand two hundred and fifty.

Chech Sadi (*Shash-ṣadī*)—that is, 'Six Hundred.'

When a man has six hundred rupees a month in the first class, he receives annually twenty-two thousand five hundred

rupees; in the second, eleven thousand two hundred and fifty; and in the third, seven thousand five hundred.

Aff Sadi (*Haft-ṣadī*)—that is, 'Seven Hundred.'

When a man has seven hundred rupees a month in the first class, he receives annually twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty rupees; in the second, thirteen thousand one hundred and twenty-five; and in the third, eight thousand seven hundred and fifty.

Ast Sadi (*Hasht-ṣadī*)—that is, 'Eight Hundred.'

When a man has eight hundred rupees a month in the first class, he receives annually thirty thousand rupees; in the second, fifteen thousand; and in the third, ten thousand [25].

Nou Sadi (*Nuh-ṣadī*)—that is, 'Nine Hundred.'

When a man has nine hundred rupees a month in the first class, he receives annually three thousand seven hundred and fifty rupees; in the second, sixteen thousand eight hundred and seventy-five; and in the third, eleven thousand two hundred and fifty.

All the rates of pay given above, from twenty up to nine hundred rupees a month, are those the king gives to the *mancebdars* (*manṣabdār*)—that is, 'nobles of the royal court.' To get the *hazārī* or the pay of one thousand, it is necessary to wait a long time and work hard. For the kings only grant it sparingly, and only to those who by their services or their skill in affairs have arrived at the stage of deserving it. In having this rate of pay accorded to you, they give you also the title of *omera* (*umarā*)—that is, 'noble.'

Hi Hec Azary, Omarao (*Yak Hazārī, Umarā*)—that is, 'One Thousand' and the title of *Umarā*.

When you hold a *hazārī* (one thousand) per month in the first class, you receive annually fifty thousand rupees; in the second, twenty-five thousand; and in the third, sixteen thousand six hundred and sixty-six and two-thirds. Men who have once risen

to this rate of pay and the title of *hazārī* are obliged to maintain at the court one elephant and six horses for the king's service. Those who are absent are required to leave orders with their representative to see after this duty, otherwise a deduction is made from your pay to meet the upkeep of an equal number of these animals. Men who hold the two *hazārī* must maintain two elephants and twenty horses, and thus with each rise in pay a man is obliged to increase the number of these animals and their keep, in proportion to the number of *hazārīs* that he holds.

Do Azary Omarao (*Du-hazārī, Umarā*)—that is, 'Two Thousand' and the title of *Umarā*.

When a man has two *hazārī* (thousand) a month in the first class, he receives annually a hundred thousand rupees; in the second, fifty thousand; and in the third, thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-three.

Sih Azary, Omarao, Saeb Nobat (*Sih-hazārī, Umarā, Ṣāḥib-i-Naubat*)—that is, 'Lord of Musical Instruments.'

When a man has three thousand in the first class, he receives annually one hundred and fifty thousand rupees; in the second, seventy-five thousand; and in the third, fifty thousand. When you have reached this rate of pay and this height of honour, the king allows you to have a retinue of drums, flutes, and trumpets, which is almost the retinue of a prince.

Char Azary, Omarao, Saeb Nobat (*Chahār-hazārī, Umarā, Ṣāḥib-i-Naubat*)—that is, 'Lord of Musical Instruments.'

When a man has four *hazārīs* a month in the first class, he receives annually two hundred thousand rupees; in the second, one hundred; and in the third, sixty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-six.

Panje Azary, Omarao, Saeb Nobat (*Panj-hazārī, Umarā, Ṣāḥib-i-Naubat*)—that is, 'Lord of Musical Instruments.'

When a man has five *hazārīs* in the first class, he receives two million fifty thousand rupees a year; in the second, one

million twenty-five thousand rupees; in the third, six hundred and eighty-three thousand six hundred and thirty-three [26]. Ordinarily persons who attain this rate of pay and this grade are already advanced in age, men of understanding and experience. When they hold it in the first class, they are viceroys or generals leading armies, and at court occupy all the most important positions; but of these there are very few. Those holding this rank in the second class fill offices of the same kind as the first class, only of less importance; these are more numerous. Finally, those of the third class have also charges similar to the others, and are also employed throughout the empire, each one according to his capacity and his birth. Of this last class there are still more than of the second class.

Chech Azary, *Omarao*, and *Cavany* (*Shash-hazārī*, *Umarā*, and *Khawānīn*[1])—that is, 'Gentleman of the Royal Household,' 'Lord of the State and Instruments.' These men are required to maintain soldiers of *Do-aspa* (*Dū-aspah*) and of *Ce-aspa* (*Sih-aspah*)—that is, 'Soldiers with two and with three horses.'

Those persons who have six *hazārīs* a month receive annually three millions of rupees; those who have seven, three million five hundred thousand rupees, coupled with leave to keep a larger and more splendid retinue than others. But they are obliged to do the same duties as the rest, as already described. In the empire there are not usually at one time more than five or six persons who have reached this pre-eminent honour. These are the highest lords, and no subject who is not a prince can rise any higher. Their retinue is as large and as superb as a prince's. The only difference is that the allowances of the latter are much greater than those of the former. Nevertheless, over and above their fixed income, the king rewards them at times, and causes various amounts to be paid to them, under pretext that it is for their betel-leaf, their fruit, or their sweetmeats, and so forth.

When the king fixes, or gives orders about, the allowances of a *manṣabdār* or an *umarā*, he does not talk of 'rupees,' but of

[1] The Arabic plural of Khān.

dāms, which is a money of account, of which they make forty go to the rupee. When he fixes the rate of pay of these gentlemen, or he makes any gift, he says they are to give to So-and-so so many thousands, so many *lakhs*, or so many *karors* of *dāms*.

The foremost of those noblemen of whom I have just spoken is the Secretary of State; the next is the Viceroy of the province of Kābul; the third the Viceroy of the Dakhin; the fourth the Viceroy of Bengal; the fifth the Viceroy of Ujjain (= Mālwah). Ordinarily these five lords may seat themselves in the presence of princes of the blood when these give them permission.

Officers and soldiers on small pay are usually paid from the royal treasury; ten per cent. is deducted from their pay under the regulations made by King Akbar.

The queens and princesses are paid half from the royal treasury and half in land or in rents, which always yield more than the amount in exchange for which they have been granted. All the other women [27] of the royal household are paid in ready money. Some of the chief physicians and some men of learning are also paid as the queens and princesses are, in proportion to their allowances. For paying the great multitude of people in the prince's service four places [of payment] are fixed, where all is carried out with much order.

The persons who have three *ṣadīs* of pay and higher rates, as far as seven *hazārīs*, are required to maintain horses according to their pay. For this purpose they have assignments which produce a good revenue. A man getting the pay of a *hazārī* in the first class is obliged to keep two hundred and fifty horsemen of different races—that is to say, sixty-four Paṭhāns, sixty-four Mughals, sixty-four Rājpūts; the remainder are Saiyids, Shekhzādahs, and so forth. The regulation still observed up to this day was made by King Akbar.

Those with the same rate in the second class are obliged to keep one hundred and twenty-five horsemen of the above races, and the same with all the other classes. So much so that all these lords are obliged to have cavalry, but proportionally, according to the rate of pay and the class they hold. In addition to their pay the king gives them, for the upkeep of

this cavalry, lands and a special income, which ought to produce thirty rupees a day[1] for each horseman. But usually these assignments bring in more than is set down in the king's registers as the sum for which they are allotted.

A man, then, who has a *hazārī* in the first class receives altogether every year—that is to say, in cash for his own pay and what is fixed for his soldiers—the sum of one hundred and forty thousand rupees. Those who have lower pay, such as four, five, and seven *ṣadīs* and the rest, who are also under an obligation of maintaining cavalry, conduct themselves by the same regulation and in the same order. This governs all ranks up to seven *hazārīs*.

Troopers in the king's service who have the pay of a *bīstī* (twenty), are required to keep each one horse; those who have two *bīstī* must keep two; and those who have the *sad panjai* (*ṣad-panjāhī*)—that is, one hundred and fifty rupees—ought to keep three horses; those with a *ṣadī*, two; those with two *ṣadī*, four. Although in the course of time a man may get advanced as far as seven *hazārī* (thousand), he remains always under the same obligation of maintaining four horses bearing the king's brand.

All the horsemen who are *manṣabdārs* under the king must have impressed on the right flank of their horses a mark made like this ᘓ, which is the royal brand. From the day that they get this mark made their pay begins. The generals also cause a brand to be placed on the horses of their troopers, but it is made on the left flank. Their brand is usually the first letter of their name, and their men's pay begins also on the day that the brand is imprinted.

Every horseman in the king's service must have a Turkish horse, and not one reared in India. The latter are timid and restive. They must also equip themselves with *armes blanches* and a coat of mail. The princes of the blood royal administer their households in the same manner, but from the pay of their soldiers there is a deduction of twenty per cent.

In spite of all that is said above, I must give warning that

[1] Evidently a mistake for 'a month.'

the king does not generally pay everyone by the rules that I have inserted. For since there are in his service an innumerable crowd of men with varying employments and duties, he on his side makes many differing rates of pay, giving from a *bīstī* (twenty) and a *bīstī* and a half to some, up to a *ṣadī* (hundred) and a *ṣadī* and a half to others, going on increasing, to some more to some less, till one *hazārī* (thousand) is reached. At that point the title of *umarā* (noble) is given, and from *hazārī* (thousand) a man rises from rank to rank by gradations.

There is still another mode of payment called *ruzindar* (*rozīnah-dār*)—that is, pay by the day given to infantry and cavalry. Yet, although they have this name, they are not thus paid: several months are allowed to elapse. Usually in the *maḥal*, or the apartments in which are secluded the women of the king's household, as I have described several times (III. 3-10), all allowances are of this sort, excepting, however, those of the queens and princesses. Of these [allowances], the lowest are of half a rupee; the rest are of one, two, four, seven, ten, and up to twenty and thirty; in this the quality of the person and his merits are regarded. Christians—that is to say, the gunners and the surgeons—are also paid after this manner.

All soldiers, high and low, generals and captains, are forced to give surety, and without it they cannot obtain employment. This practice is so common and so general that even the princes find it necessary to conform to the custom.

Whenever the king, or some commander in his name, wants to raise soldiers, infantry or cavalry, it is not necessary to make any great stir. For a thousand at a time will attend to take service, and of these the best are chosen. This applies as much to the cavalry as to the infantry; still, there are more who present themselves for the latter service than the former. When the horse of a trooper dies, he must on the same day bring the hide with the brand and the other marks on it for inspection of the officer in charge of that duty. He is given seven days to buy another, otherwise his pay is reduced.

Twice a year the *bachi* (*bakhshī*), the chief commander of cavalry, holds a review of all the cavalry present at court, examines all the horses, and sees whether any of them are old

and unfit for service. In the latter case he makes the owners get rid of them and buy others. Throughout the empire there are similar officers bearing the same name, and these are required each in his locality to perform the same duty. When the king dispatches any officer, it is necessary for him to appear at the head of his troops and show them in review order on the river-bank below the royal palace, and three days after that he is bound to start.

If the troopers are not good men and do not make a good appearance they are turned out, or their pay is deducted from that disbursed to the generals or captains. These gentlemen (the generals) have generally each in his stable fifty, a hundred, and up to two hundred horses for show or service. On the day of the review they equip their servitors and mount them on these horses, and pass them off as soldiers, putting to the account of profit the pay these men draw. In every quarter of the empire there are officials who keep an eye on everythiug, or, at least, ought to do so; for, being at a distance from the court, they do not acquit themselves of their duty as loyal subjects ought. But they are negligent by reason of the presents given them to that intent by the persons interested. Owing to these considerations they practise concealment, and never dream of enforcing the performance of duties. Many a time have I witnessed this. Those who ought to keep fifty horses, more or less, very frequently have no more than six to eight, and entertain no soldiers, although there are men ready to enlist with branded horses, such as I have described. To all these regulations they pay little or no heed, thinking solely of their own [29] enjoyments, without troubling about anything else.

The generals and officers keep to no fixed rules in paying their soldiers, for to some they will give twenty or thirty rupees, to others forty, fifty, or a hundred. Usually they make great promises, but not even a half is received, each one paying according to his caprice and the reputation that he is emulous of acquiring for his efficient retinue or establishments. The wretched soldiers naturally agree to anything, all the more readily since they have no other means of livelihood. All this

contributes much to the bad payment of everyone that is so common; for the money they get comes to them only in driblets, and when all is said and done it does not come to a great deal. For in respect of one year's service they receive six or eight months' pay. Even that is not all in coin; they are always foisted off as respects two months' pay with clothes and old raiment from the household. Over and above this, there is almost always due to them the pay for two or three years' service. The soldiers are obliged to borrow money at interest from the *ṣarrāfs*, or money-changers. These men lend to them, it is true, but it is hardly ever without a command from the general or officer; and these latter have an understanding with them about the profit from interest, which they share between them.

Sometimes the soldiers sell their papers to these money-changers, who for a note of hand for one hundred rupees will give them twenty or twenty-five. It is by these and such-like extortions that these generals ruin the wretched soldier, who, unable to find other means of gaining his bread, is forced to remain on in his service. Speaking generally, it is impossible for them to escape such extortions, for these disorders reign throughout all the princes' establishments. If anyone resigns service at his own request, they deduct two months' pay.

Actually, as I am writing on this subject, an affair has arisen at St. Thome which proves the truth of what I say. One thousand soldiers from the fortress of Gingy (Jinjī), which is in the Carnate (Karnātik), have come to the aforesaid St. Thome to pray the *dīwān* to give them enough to meet their expenses, not only for themselves, but for seven thousand others who had remained behind in the fortress. They ask this as a sum on account in respect of three years of pay owed to them by the king. At first he refused, but in spite of that they have so pressed him that at last he has given them five months' pay, half in money and half in old clothes, reckoned by him at a good deal above their value.

In these days many similar disputes occur, owing to the want of order in the government, and everybody's only thought is to steal. But whatever happens, it rarely reaches the king's

ears, for he being old—some eighty-five years of age—and also taken up with this war against the Shivā Jī (the Mahrattahs), his empire, too, being of such a vast extent, he is unable to put a stop to all this injustice and misrule, which his ministers carry on with impunity. They tell him what they please, and having their friends and agents at court, they cause presents to be made to this man and that, by which means they obtain what they want, joined with impunity for everything.

There are even some officers who, being far away from headquarters, do not obey the orders coming to them from the king; and when they are [30] commanded to relieve any place or assist any person, they invent excuses on the ground that they have not the requisite funds. Thereupon the king makes payment to them of some money out of his treasury, to be deducted thereafter from their pay. But in the interval it often happens that the enemy invade the country and carry off all they can find. These officers think only of their own interests, and they occasion great loss to private individuals recommended to them. This I have seen happen many times, and here is an instance which is quite recent.

It consists in what happened to the Chevalier Nouris (Sir William Norris), ambassador of England,[1] this gentleman

[1] Sir William Norris (1657-1702) came as envoy to the Mogul in the interests of the new East India Company. He landed at Masulipatam on September 25, 1699, and left it again on August 26, 1700. He reached Swally (Sūrat) on December 10, and proceeded thence to the Mogul camp viâ Burhānpur. On November 5, 1701, he quitted the Mogul camp without permission. He sailed for England on May 5, 1702, and died at sea from dysentery on December 10, 1702 ('Dictionary of National Biography,' vol. xli., p. 144, by S. L. Poole). A few details can be gleaned from the India Office archives, 'Factory Records Miscellaneous,' vol. xix. On January 12, 1700, he was waiting for a safe conduct to the camp, 800 miles distant. On March 11 he was still waiting. On April 15 Consul John Pitt's letter to Manucci at Madras and his reply were read (see the Introduction). Imām Qulī Beg, with camels for carriage, was expected (April 23), but they were trying to get ox-carriage. On April 24 a protest at the delays was delivered, but the President and Council were indignant at it. Norris retorted by calling Masulipatam a 'barren place.' The start fixed for May 1 could not take place for want of palki-bearers and coolies, and on May 4 an Englishman was sent to Gulkandah to procure them. May 31 came, and still no start had been made. Norris suspected underhand dealings to cause delay. On June 4 it seems a mace-bearer had been several times to the *faujdār* of Goodra (? Gūdūr) to obtain oxen, but without success; and the next day the messenger returned to

being on the point of starting from the port of Machhlipatnam on his way to court with four halberdiers with silver maces, men sent to him by the king to accompany him, and also a *asbelocum* (*ḥasb-ul-ḥukm*)—that is, a special order to all the viceroys, governors, and deputies to allow him passage, and to escort him to the frontier of each man's province.

He made a start, but from the very first stage he was stopped by the *faujdār*, or king's deputy, who asserted that he must pay customs duty on what he was carrying. The man said the king's orders were worth nothing in this matter; the halberdiers wanted to intervene, but their protestations were equally without effect. The result was that the ambassador was forced to retrace his steps and sell all the animals he had, such as horses, camels, bullocks, etc., his carts, and other requisites for such journeys. This has caused him considerable loss through the great expense incurred, the whole of which was thrown away.

This ambassador afterwards embarked for the port of Sūrat in the month of August of the year 1700, meaning to travel thence to the court, and there renew his efforts for the establishment of the new English company's trade within the Mogul

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say that the Guntūr official would give no help—his only orders were to conduct the embassy safely through his jurisdiction. Next, the *faujdār* of Masulipatam was appealed to. He said he had ordered the coolies, but there were no oxen; still, he would try to get them from Guntūr. On June 6, 1700, the land journey was given up, and the party resolved to take ship for Sūrat. All horses (10), oxen (58), *hackeries* (carts, 24), and camels, the whole costing Rs. 18,659.7.0, were sent to the President for disposal. Norris declared he had been betrayed and the native governors bribed. On June 15 a declaration was made to the *wāqi'ah navīs* (official reporter), Mīr Muḥammad Sa'id, stating these grievances. The *wāqi'ah navīs*, a new man, offered help, and said he heard the oxen were not refused; the difficulty was about their price. It appears the contract was for 600 oxen, and advances were given. The ambassador had moved out some two miles before the final refusal arrived from Guntūr, and the approach of the rains made the journey impossible. Norris refused to change his intention of going round by sea. Then Mīr Ṣāliḥ, *faujdār* of Gūdūr, offered an escort of horse, and even resorted to threats. On August 15 the whole party embarked on the *Sommers* (Captain John Douglas) for Sūrat. Guntūr (Kistna district) is forty-four miles west of Masulipatam; Gūdūr is three and three-quarter miles west of same ('Madras Manual of Administration,' iii. 335, 321). Manucci returns to the subject of Norris in Part IV., fol. 33.

empire. Those gentlemen wrote me several letters, principally Jean Pitt, consul of the new company, praying me to help them in their business at the court, which I was unable to perform for many reasons.[1]

By all that I have stated above it can be seen that the government of the Mogul empire is nothing but one vast disorder. Upon this it will not be, I think, inappropriate to recount another adventure concerning an old woman. This old woman complained to the king that the officials had taken her land; and in reference thereto at six different times did the king give her his *asbelocums* (*ḥasb-ul-ḥukm*), or his written order, to get her back her property. In spite of all this, nothing came of it.

When she came with a seventh rescript, the officials lost their temper, and had her thrust out with the words that, if she came again with orders like that, they would throw her into a place which they named plainly enough, but decency requires me to leave unsaid. Back went the good lady to complain to the king while he was seated giving audience; she shouted out to him the answer she had got from his officials. Without getting angry, the prince replied that as they would not obey, he could do nothing, and she must lay her plaints before God. Yet it is by similar neglect that the kingdom has now been brought to ruin, for if Aurangzeb followed [31] the course of his father, there would not be seen so much disorder as is to be found nowadays. For any such disobedience he (Shāhjahān) had the man's head cut off, or took his life by means of venomous snakes.

In addition to all this, it is not alone the Mogul's officials who cause the maladministration, but the prince himself many a time does not keep his word. For he may make, be it to a prince or to a subject, the present of a province or of some allowance from it, or some other thing of considerable extent; and he may confirm it by the royal *farmān* usually issued in such cases (I will give a delineation of one further on).[2]

[1] The subject of Sir W. Norris's embassy is resumed in Part IV., f. 33. For John Pitt's letters and Manucci's answers, see the Introduction.

[2] N. M. seems to have forgotten to carry out this promise—at any rate, in the Berlin Codex.

Nevertheless, it often happens that the present Mogul has no hesitation in falsifying his word and that of others, and making a mock of his own *farmāns*.

As an example of what I say, Shāhjahān had given a village to 'Alī Mardān Khān, quite near the river Chenon (Chināb); it was called Nicader (Nikodar).[1] It was given in perpetuity, for himself and his descendants. Aurangzeb, disregarding the word of his father and his king, and without the commission of any fault by 'Alī Mardān Khān, took possession of the place and ousted the possessor.

He did just the same to Rajah Jai Singh, and occupied the lands conquered by that noble from the rebel Mewātīs and those in the province of Saomber (Sāmbhar). This is just the way he behaved to Shivā jī, as I have related (II. 17). The Hindū king, the Rānā, and many others that I do not mention, have suffered from the same sort of deception, not to call it anything more. He also broke faith with the Dutch. On different occasions they sent embassies to the court to ask for a *farmān* according them some privileges that they had long asked for without ever being able to obtain.

At last, in the year 1688, they sent a person called Mr. Bald[2] as their ambassador, with a superb and magnificent retinue, as a means of demonstrating their power. They also sent a considerable present for the King, which had cost more than two hundred thousand pieces of eight,[3] this without counting all the expenses he incurred during the year's time he was made to wait before he got his letters answered. Nevertheless, during his stay the king gave him many marks of favour, honoured him with the title of Golzar can (Gulzār Khān)[4]—that is,

[1] Nikodar, in the *Sarkār* of the Beṭh Jālandhar *Dūābah* of the Lāhor *Ṣūbah* (see 'Ā,īn-i-Akbarī,' ii. 317, Jarrett), lat. 31° 10′, long. 75° 28′, seventy miles south-east by east from Lāhor (Thornton, 'Gazetteer,' 681).

[2] See separate note at the end of the next paragraph.

[3] 'Piece of eight' was the dollar or *pataca*, and therefore, according to Manucci, worth two rupees (see Yule, 638). Fryer, edition 1873, p. 223, says the 'piece of eight' was worth nine *fanam*.

[4] The fact is confirmed by a letter in the Dutch archives from Bishārat Khān, *dīwān* of Gulkandah, in which he addresses the ambassador as 'Commandeur Johannes Bacherus Gooljaar Chan' (*i.e.*, Gulzā Khān).

'Great and Flourishing'—and at length sent him away with a properly-executed *farmān*, which granted to his nation the privileges they asked for.

When the ambassador had returned to Masulipatam, the Dutch, relying on the king's word and on the *farmān* they had obtained from him, sent some bullocks and carts loaded with merchandise, such as spices, broadcloth, copper, and other things, to be sold at various spots in the empire. But at the very start the whole was stopped by the king's officers, who demanded payment to them of customs' duty, saying, that the *farmān* did not deal with that question. This affair raised some amount of dispute between the two parties, and the officers wrote to court that the *farmān* obtained by the Dutch had raised their pride and haughtiness to such a degree that, abandoning all respect for His Majesty's officers, they had raised their hands against them. They aggravated still more the offence [32] they pretended to have received by several additional details. Thereupon the king, without having heard the Dutch story, set aside the *farmān* he had issued to them, and declared it of no effect.

NOTE ON THE DUTCH EMBASSY TO THE MOGUL IN 1688.

N. Manucci is wrong in the name of the envoy; it should be *Bacherus*, and not *Bald*. The only Balde or Baldæus known is Philip Baldæus, a Dutch chaplain, who died in 1672, the year his book appeared, being a description of the island of Ceylon, of Malabar, and Choromandel.

There is abundant evidence of the mission of Johannes Bacherus in 1688. Let us take first the English records. Porto Novo reports to Fort St. George on November 27, 1687 (Factory Records, No. 30), that the Dutch are keeping high festival for four days on account of a *qaul* (written order) freeing them from customs duty for four years, and thenceforth to pay only half duties throughout the Gulkandah kingdom. We must remember that Gulkandah had just been absorbed into the Mogul empire. Fort St. George rejoins, December 9, 1687, that it understands not the festival, as the Dutch were already free of customs in Gulkandah; there must be something else behind. On January 17, 1688 (letter to Sūrat), the English say

they heard that the Mogul had ordered the Dutch to send up an ambassador, and was demanding sums of money for the confirmation of their former privileges. Again, on September 13, 1688, they write that the Dutch Commissary-General (? Van Reede)[1] at Pulicat (close to Madras) was preparing a great 'Pishkas' for the Mogul, said to be worth 40,000 *pagodas*—elephants, horses, palkis, plate, jewels, etc. 'Heer John Vakeerus' (Bacherus), the second in council, was to deliver it. Daniel Chardin, brother of the traveller, wrote from Bhāgnagar (Ḥaidarābād) on February 11-21, 1687-8, saying that the Mogul had gone on to Bījāpur, and that the Dutch had interviewed Rūḥullah Khān, the new governor. D. Chardin on February 22 wrote again that the Dutch had not obtained their *farmān*. On August 28, 1688, the Fort St. George authorities again speak of Hendrik van Reede, Dutch Commissary-General, proposing to send Johannes Bacherus to the Mogul from Pulicat with a very large present. It was said the Dutch were trying to get the English excluded from the Mogul's dominions by offering a payment of 8 lakhs of rupees a year. In a letter to the Court of Directors (Original Correspondence 5658) of January, 1689, it is stated that the Dutch envoy had started. On July 12 and 20, 1689, they speak of the 'late' embassy, and assert that it met with no success, their 'present' being plundered by the Mahrattahs. Pulicat Fort, held by the Dutch, was to be reduced to a mere factory (Fort St. George to Court, February 1, 1690, Original Correspondence No. 5698).

Thus far from the India Office records; we will now turn to the Dutch records at the Hague. The instructions, forty-three pages in extent, were issued by Hendrik van Reede to Johannes Bacherus from Pulicat on September 22, 1688. Bacherus is described as the second on the Commission, then on a visit to the northern factories of Coromandel. On December 24, 1688, the envoy started from Masulipatam, and on January 26, 1689, van Reede reports to the Seventeen at Middleburg to that effect. We have a letter from the *wazīr*, Asad Khān, of the 7th Ẕu,l Ḥijjah (September 20, 1689), the *wāqi'ah* entry in the Court official diary, 10th Ẕu,l Ḥijjah (September 23), and a second letter from Asad Khān of the 26th Ẕu,l Ḥijjah (October 9); then comes the *farmān*, dated the 12th Muḥarram of the thirty-third year—*i.e.*, 1101 H. (October 24, 1689). There is the subsidiary order or *Ḥasb-ul-ḥukm* of the *wazīr*, 27th Muḥarram,

[1] Hendrik Adriaan van Reede, of Drakensteyn, born at Utrecht early in 1637. In 1690 made Commissary at Sūrat, and Governor-General of Malabar Coast. He is the author of 'Hortus Indica,' folio, 1678. He died at sea on December 15, 1691, and was buried at Sūrat early in January, 1692. D. Havart, 'Op en Ondergang,' has a plate of the funeral procession.

1101 H. (November 8, 1689), another order of November 11, and the *dīwān's* (Bishārat Khān's) *visé* or executive order of the same date.

The provisions of the *farmān* are as follows: After reciting the petition of the envoy for a confirmation of the grant and privileges accorded in writing by 'Abdullah and Abu,l Ḥasan, the former rulers of Gulkandah, a renewed grant is made in the following detail. A gift is made of five villages, three at Pulicat (Ergam, Mansiewarom, Awieriwaka) and two at Masulipatam (Pallicol, Contera).

At PULICAT the following concessions are made in respect to the Dutch share in customs and their right to coin. On goods over a *candy*[1] in weight, liable to $4\frac{1}{8}$ *pagodas* of duty, the county officials are to take $2\frac{7}{8}$, and the Dutch Company $1\frac{1}{4}$ *pagodas;* but goods liable to less than that amount, according to the *Mutaṣaddis'* (native officials') weights, shall be divided, half to the emperor and half to the Dutch.

At ERAGAM and MANSIEWAROM the division was to be:

Customs of $4\frac{1}{8}$ *pagodas* and over to pay three-fourths to the Mogul, one-fourth to the Dutch.
Customs of 4 *pagodas* to pay $1\frac{1}{4}$ *pagodas* to Dutch.
Customs of less than 4 *pagodas* to pay half to Mogul, half to Dutch.

On cloth brought in from villages, when the bale contains 20 pieces of 72 *cobidos* (cubits) each, $3\frac{1}{4}$ *pagodas* are to be paid, the king taking half and the Dutch half. If the goods are afterwards sold, the same tax shall be paid and divided as before. If goods so bought are liable to over 4 *pagodas*, the division shall be three-fourths to the king and one-fourth to the Dutch.

Ground-rents on inhabited land to be equally divided.

All dues on goods brought in ships from abroad to be equally divided. When the Dutch bring their own money to be coined, the mint tax, which is $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., shall be equally divided; if the money is not theirs, the Dutch will only receive one-third of the dues.

MASULIPATAM.—The Dutch Company are freed from certain dues: (1) *Cabaram*, a sort of ground-rent; (2) *Baatpoelerij*, an imposition on exported goods; and (3) *Molliwidaal*, road dues. Formerly, on every two ox-loads to Ḥaidarābād the freight was 4 *pagodas* (2 of which went to the governor); now 5 are demanded. A return to the old rate is asked. The emperor ordered that the Company must make the best terms it could with the carriers, but the governor's 2 *pagodas* were remitted.

[1] *Candy*, a weight in use in South India of, roughly, 500 pounds (Yule, 155).

FORT PALLIACATTA.—For a long time this had been the sole property of the Company, and no other Europeans had any share. Petty disputes were decided by the king's officers and the employés of the Company; those of more importance were referred to 'Abdullah and Abu,l Ḥasan. The emperor orders the same practice to continue, but great and weighty causes must be sent to Ḥaidarābād to be there decided by the emperor's representative.

For the villages of GOLLEPALEM and GONDEWAROM close to Daatcherom the Company paid yearly, by way of lease, the sum of 150 *pagodas*. This was allowed to remain on the old footing.

NARSAPUR.—Here there was a piece of land used for storing timber, and a smith's shop, where various things required for ships were stored, and the workpeople who resorted there had been free of dues for a long time; nor was anyone allowed to hinder others from settling there, the said people being, like the Narsapur dwellers, in the service of the Company. Yearly from each household 3 *pagodas* were collected. The demand is conceded by the emperor to the Dutch on the old footing.

In the village MANSIEWAROM (subordinate to Masulipatam) forty households of washermen used to pay each 3 *pagodas* a year. There are now six families left. When the water rises they go to wash in Suguram (or Sury) village, and ought not to be hindered. The request is granted.

Certain taxes or dues were remitted, viz.:

1. A tax on coolies whose wages are paid by the merchants, provided they are permanently in the Company's service.

2. The tax of *Callagads*, or writers' fees.

3. *Rahdārī*, or road tax, inland in going from Bimlipatnam to Siccacol.

4. *Rahdārī* on travellers from Eloer, Ragiemandree, Daatcheram, Palicol, and Nagelwance.

5. *Rahdārī* from Masulipatam and Paliacatta, going and coming.

6. Tolls or other imposts upon any victuals for the Company's own use, coming either by water or land.

7. Tolls on all merchandise or wares sent out by the Company and brought in by it from abroad and here sold.

8. MINT.—The charges of the *Taksāl*, or Mint, on the coining, whether of gold or silver, together with the exchange on Palliacat and Chinapatnam (? Madras) *pagodas*, are remitted.

9. On *ghaza-am* [*ghizā-i-'ām*]—that is, grain and all such wares—the dealers had to pay the king, causing prices to rise. From all such dues the Company and their servants are exempted.

The *farmān* bears the titles and attestations of Asad K͟hān, the *wazīr*.

The correspondence is continued in twenty-four more letters, beginning with Laurens Pit and Council at Pulicat to the Seventeen at Middelburg (a long letter), dated January 6, 1690, and ending with the Governor-General's letter from Batavia to the same body, dated March 26, 1691.

There is also mention of the Bacherus embassy in D. Havart, 'Op en Ondergang van Coromandel' (1693), Part II., 165.

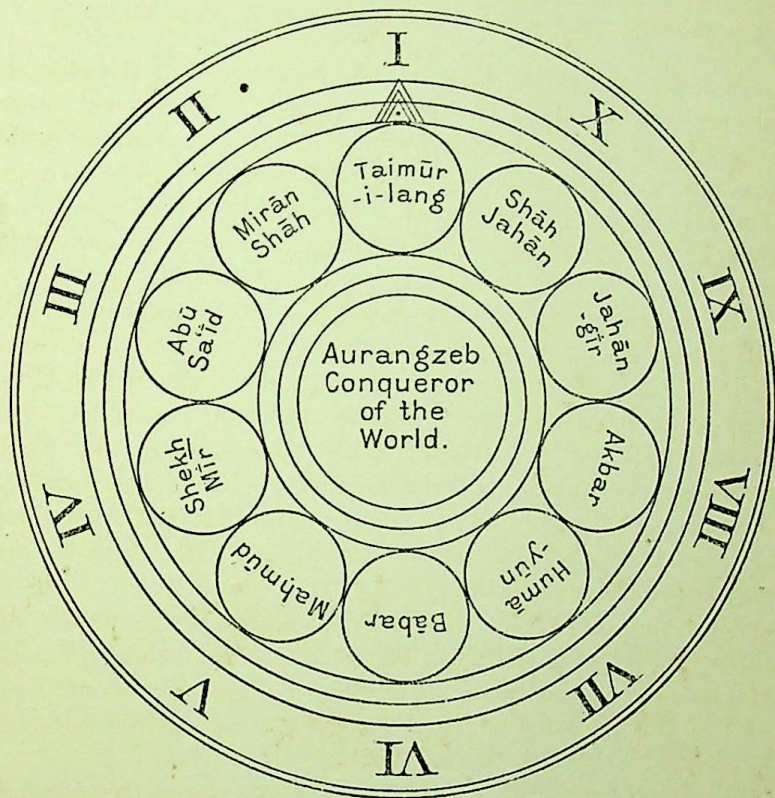
It is not difficult to have a valid *farmān*, but if the officials are not your friends, it serves you very little. This is why those who want to carry out their business must always make some presents to these men, a custom followed throughout India. For I have always noted that in order to succeed well, you must gain the goodwill of the employés, for they do and undo everything with their masters, as to them seems fit.

The figure opposite is a representation of the seal with which the Mogul attests all the *farmāns* and the grants that he accords. Usually the seal is stamped in ink, and below it the king, dipping his hand into a red liquid, impresses its shape upon the document to be dispatched.[1] This serves as a still more authentic confirmation of the favour or gift that he makes. This ceremony is only employed in matters of importance, for in other cases they use another small seal, with which letters and dispatches are sealed [33].

After this digression, which I have thought necessary to make to display the bad faith of the Moguls and their officials, and the very little reliance to be placed upon their word, I go on with the relation I began about the prince and his conduct in paying his army, *et cetera*.

When any general or great commander quits the service, either from old age or any other reason, the king as a favour continues always to pay to him an allowance for his support. But there is no fixed rule. To some less, to some more, is

[1] For an instance of the use of the *panjah*, or impressed palm of the hand, see Tod, 'Annals of Rajasthan' (Calcutta reprint, 1894), vol. i., p. 361, Aurangzeb's treaty with the Rānā, 1680. In the Venice Codex XLIV. (Zanetti) there is inserted at fol. 419, below the seal, an imprint of a hand of reddish colour; it is a very small hand, and represents, I suppose, that of Aurangzeb.

assigned, according to the king's inclination towards them. For example, Shāistah Khān had two brothers, one called Bamenear (Bahman-yār)[1] and the other Faracfal (? Farrukh-fāl). The first was incapacitated by hernia, and the other declined to serve, being very misshapen. The king allowed to these gentlemen one hundred thousand rupees. Yet to the son of

Ja'far Khān, called Nāmdār Khān,[2] who declined service upon the death of his father, Ja'far Khān, because he considered the

[1] I'tiqād Khān, Mirzā Bahman-yār ('Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' i. 232), died 1082 H. (1671-72). The other brother I cannot trace.

[2] Nāmdār Khān, eldest son of Jamdat-ul-Mulk, Ja'far Khān ('M.-ul-U.,' iii. 830). On p. 833, line 1, we read: 'In the seventeenth year (1673-74) he fell into disgrace, was removed from his *manṣab*, and given 40,000 rupees a year. He retired to Ūbgaḍh.'

post offered him was above [query read 'beneath'] him, he gave no more than ten thousand rupees. The reason was that Nāmdār Khān was the son of one of Ja'far Khān's wives, named Farsānah Begam,[1] who had been the wife (I should say the mistress) of Shāhjahān, as I have stated in my First Part (I. 129). They even said that he was son of that prince; as for myself, I have no doubt about it, for he was very like Prince Dārā.

This gentleman (Nāmdār Khān) was a great friend of mine, and as I knew him intimately, I may say that his qualities and his actions were altogether those of royalty; he was also a great soldier. But all that did not prevent the king, when this great man fell ill of a cancer which formed in his throat, from sending his physicians to cure him, and forbidding anyone else to approach him, of which he died in the year 1678.[2]

The soldiers, eunuchs, and servants of the queens and princesses are more regularly paid, and do not endure so much as the other soldiers. They never go on active service unless the king and the princes of the blood royal are going. But, since on those occasions the wives, daughters, and concubines accompany them, these troops also follow the campaign. These ladies travel generally in the rear of the army, riding on the greatest elephants, which are followed by others bearing the gold coin and precious stones that these princes carry also with them, to be made use of in case of disgrace or misfortune. They say that since Taimūr-i-lang, in all the generations of the Moguls, no queen has been made a prisoner in war, except Humāyūn's queen, who was taken by Sher Shāh, the Paṭhān; and even that prince sent her back to the king as far as Persia, where he had gone, which I have already mentioned, if I mistake not, in my First Part (I. 70).

Most of the horses used by the Mogul come from the regions of Balkh, Bukhārā, and Kābul. Thence come every year more than one hundred [34] thousand, and on them the king makes a great profit by the duty he imposes. At the crossing of the

[1] Farzānah Begam, sister of Mumtāz Maḥal, the wife of Shāhjahān ('Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' iii. 830).

[2] The native writers do not mention the year of his death.

Indus alone a payment of twenty-five per cent. on their value is made. The best are chosen for the king's service, the usual number taken being twelve thousand. Among them are some selected for his own stable, and the others he uses as presents to the great lords of his court. There also come from those regions many camels loaded with fruit, such as melons, pears, seedless pomegranates, raisins, and other dried fruits.

The horses are called Turkī; they are courageous in war, can stand much fatigue, and never forsake their masters unto death.

The policy of the present Mogul is so fine and so delicate as to surpass that of all his predecessors; and he has had peculiarly hard work to maintain himself on the throne up to this time against the wish and the will of several persons. First, there are his children, upon whom he always keeps a vigilant eye, so that they may commit no treason similar to that he did to his father. It is for this reason that formerly, besides the spies he kept to report all that was passing, he used at night to go in person incognito into the house of Shāh 'Ālam to spy out what was going on there.

The prince, on the other hand, detected the movements and ruses of his father, and set his own wits to work. He had cunning spies to inform him of all he (Aurangzeb) projected. One night it happened, when there was very bright moonlight, the prince was enjoying himself with some ladies who were his mistresses: they came and warned him that the king, his father, was coming to visit him. As soon as he heard this news he promptly rose, and having hidden the ladies in different places, he went into a room and set to work reading the Qurān aloud, as is the custom. Aurangzeb came in, and finding Shāh 'Ālam thus occupied, said to him that what he was engaged in did not suit the season, which invited rather to delectation than the reading of the Qurān.

Shāh 'Ālam replied that what he read appeared to him more lovely than the moon, and afforded him more delight than the light of the sun. The father was charmed at this answer, and as a mark of his satisfaction thereat he augmented the prince's allowance, and gave him more frequent tokens of the esteem in which he held such virtue.

Several times Shāh 'Alam's favourites, seeing the manner in which his father acted, coming and going just as he pleased, asked him (Shāh 'Ālam) to allow them to kill him (Aurangzeb). To incite him to this, they brought up the example of the king, who had acted thus towards his own father and brother. They said that after the death of the old fellow he could [35] easily crown himself as king. But the prince would never give his consent, saying that if he did so, his children would one day treat him the same, and thus this pernicious custom would be established in the family from generation to generation. This is why he hoped that God would never allow him to imitate his father in that respect; and, what was more, he was still a young man.

When this prince reached the age of twenty-five, he knew quite well he was endued with little courage, and this forced him into attempting to acquire the magical arts, in order to guide himself thereby in case of necessity, just as his father had done when he was a prince. To accomplish this design he busied himself with the study of books of magic. But in a short time this occupation destroyed his mind, which his father discovered without knowing the real cause. He believed this arose from illness, so came to visit him. No sooner had he entered than his son seized him by the beard and demanded in a fury who he was, and why he entered his house. Seeing the prince in this condition, the king was greatly concerned, the more so that he (his son) had always been very submissive, and he had tenderly loved him. Plunged into affliction, he placed him in charge of his own physicians, conjuring them to use their best efforts on his behalf. The gentlemen met in consultation, and after discussing the symptoms, concluded that the evil arose from blood to the head. As a remedy, they bled and purged, whereby he recovered his senses. Having thus by sad experience learnt that such studies would be his destruction, he thought no more about them, and forsook them entirely.

Adopting another style of life, he gave himself up to pleasure, but only in secret, his occupation being drinking and other pastimes, according to the whim of the moment. His father

heard nothing of all that, for the son knew his father's disposition, and his love of seeing his children imitate his feigned strictness. Thus, to gain his approval the prince displayed as many signs of devoutness as ever he could. As he perceived that humility was also much to the taste of the old fellow, he showed the greatest contempt for the riches of this world. He ordered his bowls and dishes to be made of wood, and caused it to be noised abroad that he ate out of these. Further, the trappings of the horse he rode were of plain leather, devoid of all ornaments, although those of his retinue were not of that simple style.

As for myself, I knew quite the contrary of all this; and in his palace he led a jolly life of it, drinking and eating out of dishes and cups of gold. Above all, as to the drink, that I know to be exact, for he had charged me with procuring good wines of Persia and Europe. These I caused to be brought from Sūrat, and frequently, when he was out of them, he sent to my house for some, for he had more trust in me than in his Mahomedans. One day when he was elated I heard him say that despicable was that king who did not eat out of vessels of emerald.

His children were just as great hypocrites as he was, and all to propitiate their grandfather. For in secret they led the same life as their father. One day, as it happened [36], one of the spies reported to the king that he had seen a bottle of wine being taken into the house of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-dīn. It was one that he had sent to me for. Upon this the old fellow made a long discourse to Shāh 'Ālam and Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-dīn. The latter said as his excuse that the wine was for some medicine to be given to a sick lady; while Shāh 'Ālam made it appear that he had no part in the matter. In order better to persuade and satisfy the king, he caused the uterine brother of his son [query read 'foster-brother'] to be ejected from his palace as the man who had sent the wine; while I was thereby saved from the penalty which would otherwise have fallen on me had they known that the wine came from me.

The Prince A'ẓam Shāh, or A'ẓam-tārā, also drank wine; but it was not in concealment like the others. On the contrary,

frequently he even caused scenes while drunk, without paying any heed to his father. The latter was much chagrined at such conduct, but as he loved this son, he overlooked his faults. One day the prince was on his way to court in a boat; he asked the rowers how many days it would take them to reach Bengal in that boat. The eunuch seated behind him signed to them to hold their tongues, so that they answered not a word. But directly they had reached the court, the eunuch intimated to the king that the prince had put such a question. No sooner had he entered the palace than he was arrested and locked up, and there he remained for a whole year, getting no wine to drink. But having been married to Jānī Begam, daughter of Dārā, he was released.

From what is above stated, it will be seen that these princes are under surveillance, and if any servant of the king, or the princes themselves, should dare to open his mouth to make even the slightest objection, he would be forthwith exiled from court and turned out of the service. This is a sufficiently heavy punishment to induce them to hold their tongue, for they have no other means of gaining a living.

Aurangzeb could not ignore the fact that each of his children wanted to become king and made pretensions to the crown. But one day, out of curiosity, he asked them if they wanted to reign. Shāh 'Ālam replied that he would be glad enough to be king should His Majesty ever wish for repose and should cede the kingdom to him, and that to him it seemed only just that the eldest son should succeed—still more so when he was a good man, and endowed with habits and qualities which should rather lead him to, than exclude him from, the throne. In spite of this, it was his bounden duty to remain quiet during the life and good health of His Majesty. He meant to be understood as intending on his father's death to do his best to succeed him. A'ẓam-tārā stated that he was born to be a king, even though he had an elder brother, for (said he) my father and my mother are both Mahomedans, and both of royal blood.

Akbar's reply was that his birth took place at a propitious hour and moment. For was it not then that had begun the happiness and good fortune which had ever since followed in

his (Aurangzeb's) train? Was it not in that very year that he had won the victory over Rajah Jaswant Singh and Qāsim Khān, and had also defeated Prince Dārā?[1] [37] Briefly he had had many other lucky advantages that favouring Fortune had conferred on him; and for all these reasons he believed that the crown was his by right.

Kām Bakhsh answered that, without a doubt, the kingdom was his, as of right, because, said he, 'I am the son of a king, while the others are only sons of a prince.' Then, lifting his eyes to heaven, he added, 'But be it as God wills!' This last reason was extremely pleasing to the king, and on this account he esteemed this son more than ever, and raised his previous income. All the same, he did not allow his feelings to appear, but kept them hidden in his heart. Then he said, as a general answer to them all, that their claims were still in the remote future; for the calculators had assured him that he was to reign one hundred and twenty years, and to their findings he accorded implicit faith. Nevertheless, the cunning monarch only said this in order to see if any one of the sons would say anything more, betraying any passion or grief at what he had said. But no one opened his mouth: the example of the imprisonment and death of Sulṭān Muḥammad was more than enough to keep them within the limits of humility and of filial and prudent obedience.

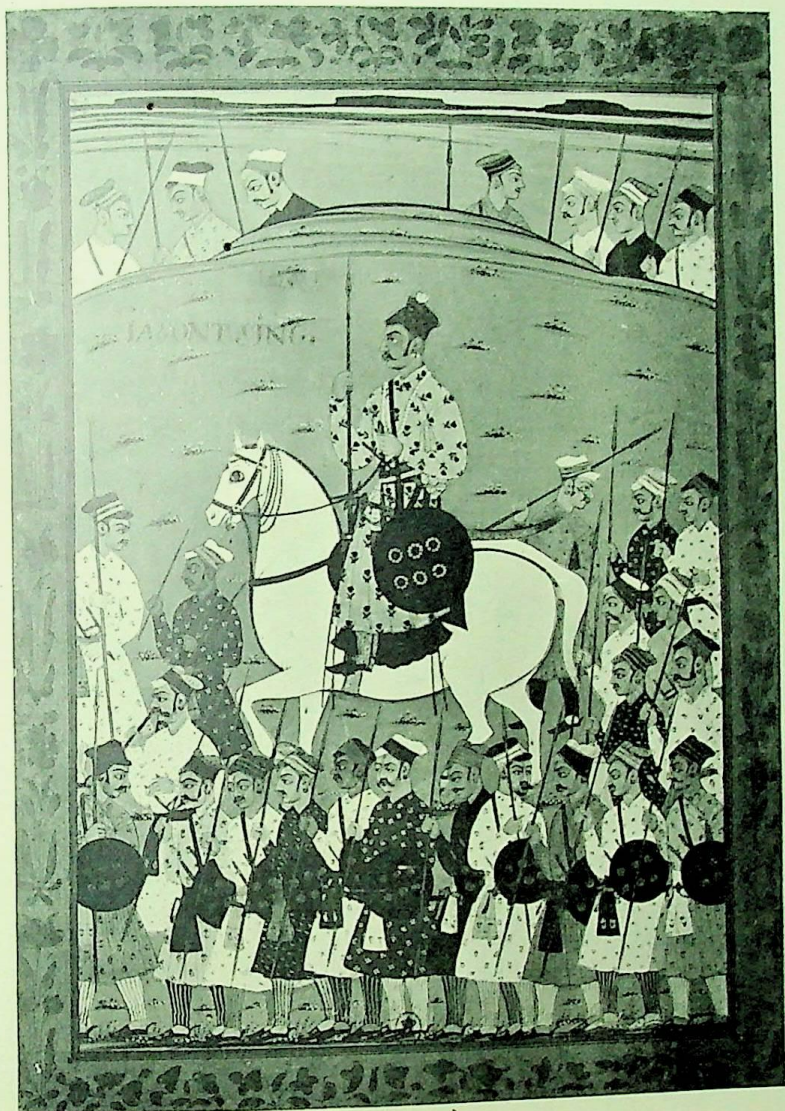
Aurangzeb had more confidence in Shāh 'Ālam than in any of the others, for he knew him down to the ground, and had tested his not having enough boldness to try rebellion. When this prince was very young, he was performing the offices of nature, when a young rat passed in front of him. He was so frightened that he came out shouting, holding up his drawers with his hands. The eunuchs present thought at first that he had been bitten by a snake. His father, on being told what had happened, exclaimed that it was an astonishing thing that in the race of Taimūr-i-lang should be born a prince who was such a poltroon. He added that the courage in

[1] Akbar was born on the 12th Ẕu,l Ḥijjah, 1067 H. (September 22, 1657, N.S.). The battle with Jaswant Singh, near Ujjain, was fought in Rajab, 1068 (April, 1658) (Elphinstone, 521). The first defeat of Dārā was on June 8, 1658.

which he was lacking was in excess in his brother, Sulṭān Muḥammad.[1]

In spite of all this, however, as Aurangzeb himself counterfeited the bigot, he imagined that Shāh 'Ālam was counterfeiting the coward. With the idea of putting him to the proof, he said to him when he was somewhat older that the astrologers predicted that he would rebel. At those words the prince, all in a tremble, drew his sword and flung it at his father's feet, saying he would rather have his head cut off than that he should ever do such a thing. Having noticed his emotion at hearing such a remark, his father embraced him, restored his sword, and bound it on him, saying that he never expected any such action on his part.

The distrust among these princes is so acute that the father does not trust the son, nor the son his father. Here is an instance: Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-din, eldest son of Shāh 'Ālam, was graciously pleased to act as intermediary, and to intercede for me with his father, to get me back into his service, as I have related more at length in my account of Goa, contained in my Second Part (II. 219). The father, without any other reason, commanded me not to go to the court of the said Sulṭān, giving him orders at the same time not to send for me. Let him, Shāh 'Ālam said, employ his own doctors and not me. Upon this subject they had some words, and thereupon separated. Some time afterwards Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-din feigned the invalid, and no longer went to the court of his father. As soon as the latter heard of the illness, he sent him his Persian physicians, and these men reported that he was not in the least unwell. To give them the lie and show that he required my treatment, he made one of his women servants suck a place on his neck, and thereby raised a blue mark. On learning that he was suffering from this blue mark, Shāh 'Alam, without knowing the cause of it, had the idea that he required bleeding. So he ordered me to see him at his residence, and with a view to satisfying his son, told me to go whenever he sent for me, and in this manner they made it up and were at peace.

[1] A'ẓam Shāh was accustomed to call his brother 'the *baniyā*'—that is, one who is the very incarnation of timidity (Catrou, 4to. edition, 1715, p. 200).

XXIII. Rājah Jaswant Singh, Rāṭhor, of Jodhpur.

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Maybe astonishment will be expressed at all the details I give of this court, but just to afford some satisfaction to my readers, I will tell a little story showing how I came to a knowledge of these things. In the palace was a female servant called Dil-jo, who acted as *valet-de-chambre* to Shāh 'Ālam. This girl fell ill, and no one could diagnose her complaint, nor its source. She was quite young, but suffered from insomnia, and from time to time frightful things overtook her, even to biting her own body. After some remedies had been administered which did her no good, I was instructed to treat her. I fathomed at once the origin of the disease, and I said to the prince that I could not cure her, but I would instruct them as to a remedy they might give her, by means of which I hoped that her health would be re-established.

Subsequently I stated the remedy, which was nothing more than to counsel them to get her married. That was (I added) what I believed to be the healing medicine for her malady. They believed me, and forthwith married her off to a slave of the prince's household. Two months afterwards they sent for her to the palace, just to see if there was any change in her. They noticed that her colour had returned, that she enjoyed perfect health, and, in fact, she was with child. The other women servants on seeing her longed for their fellow-servant's disease in order to obtain the same remedy. To succeed in this design, they let me know that they would pretend to be ill, and I must be so good as to ordain the same medicine to be given to them as had been given to Dil-jo. I carried out this commission to the best of my power, and thus several were married, according to their wish. These people were subsequently very grateful for the kindness I had done them, and gave me proof of it from time to time. Thus it is through them that I have been informed of many particulars as to what went on in the court of this prince [39].

Perhaps it will not be found altogether devoid of utility if I impart to my readers several events that happened to me, which are proof of the prince's kindness and of the friendship he bore me. Seeing that I was not married, he inquired from me, through the first princess in his *maḥal* (seraglio), why I did

not take a wife. I replied that I found none of my standing that took my fancy. This lady and her husband were both desirous to get me married so as to retain me, and hinder my leaving Hindūstān and his court. She said to me that she would send for all the daughters of Christians, whether Europeans or Armenians, and I had only to choose the one I liked best. She would see that I obtained the girl, would give her away in marriage herself, and provide all the expenses necessary on such an occasion, adding a number of other promises. I thanked her, and made her understand how grateful I was for all her favours; but, being a man of family, it was not correct for me to accept a bride such as she proposed for me. To that she replied by a great many things, among others that Mahomedans took anybody without regard to their birth. Although a Christian could never have pretensions to such an honour, yet if I would agree she would have all her maids of honour brought before me, and I had only to select the one I most liked, and she should be given to me as wife, nothing remaining but to carry her away to my dwelling.

Being weary of all this woman's talk, I gave an off-hand answer that I was incapacitated for marriage. But on she went, and, with a number of other remarks, refuted me by saying that my bearing and complexion showed the falsity of what I told her. Finally, after all this discourse, she ordered me to put my hand inside the curtains of the bed to feel her pulse; for this is the way one has to deal with these ladies, as I have said (III. 14, 15). I noted that the arm was thick, muscular, and hairy, and by these signs I knew at once it was a man's arm, and it turned out to be Shāh 'Ālam himself. Without delay I rose, and said that the arm I had touched was a man's, not a woman's, and it could be none other than that of the King of the World. At these words the prince burst out laughing, and told me I knew how to distinguish the difference between a man and a woman.[1]

If the prince intended in this interview to show his esteem

[1] For a parallel instance of testing a physician's discernment, see Fryer, edition 1873, p. 346. The hand of a healthy slave girl was put out to him instead of the patient's.

for me, it may be added from the way of it that he also meant to put me to the test. It is also the custom to probe the physicians by such trickeries, in order to be assured of their ability and of their recognition of diseases. Another adventure took place with the princess which led to the same result. She made out she was ill, and caused to be sent to me a vessel full of urine with an inquiry whether I could recognise [40] from it the disease she was suffering from. Seeing that the liquid was green, and seemed to have some drug mixed with it, I set my imagination to work, and answered with a smile that the urine came from a person who had eaten largely of green stuff the preceding night. As soon as I pronounced these words there was a great outburst of laughter behind the curtains of the bed, and they said I was a great doctor. In the end they informed me it was the urine of a cow.

Wishing to retain me and gain me over entirely to his interest, the prince thought that women would be a good vehicle to secure his object; for it is very common for men to be destroyed by this snare. Here is how he set to work. He asked me if I knew there was a European in his palace. I said I did not. Instantly, while we were speaking, there came out of a room a very pretty girl, dressed as a man in European style, with a gold-mounted sword at her side. As soon as she saw me she lifted her hat and saluted me. I was conscious at once that it was the prince who had put all this in play to amuse himself, and see if he could gain me over. But I feigned the ignoramus, and as if I had not noticed anything, returned the bow and proffered some compliments. Speaking French, I went up to her to kiss her, when at once she turned her back on me and fled. I ran after her as if wishing to embrace her; but she ran faster than I did. However, I did my utmost to overtake her. Laughing, the prince cried out to me. At his voice I came back with slow steps close to him, much put out at not having succeeded in embracing the young person.

When I had come close, he asked me what I had wanted to do. I replied boldly that I wanted to embrace and kiss the would-be young man. He assumed to be astonished at such a piece of audacity, then took to smiling at it ever so long, as

did all the princesses. Afterwards he told me that the Farangī I had seen was not a man, but a woman, and if I would have her, he would give her to me, and she could serve to carry my medicines into the *maḥal*. I answered, with a serious air, that she was no use for that, and medicines administered by a woman's hand produced no effect. The prince for a long time joked with the princesses over what I had said. This is the greatest amusement he has. All other Mahomedans also pass the greater part of their time among their women. This is so much the case that through them much important business at court is transacted. For my part, I have done a great deal thus, principally through the first princess.

I have said already (III. 16) that it is the custom in the royal household, when a physician is called within the *maḥal*, for the eunuch to cover his head with a cloth, which hangs down to his waist. They then conduct him to the patient's room, and he is taken out in the same manner. The first time that [41] I was led through the palace I was fitted out in the above fashion, but, by premeditation, I walked as slowly as I could, in spite of the urging of my guides, the eunuchs. The prince, having seen this, ordered them to uncover me, and that in future I was to be allowed to come in and go out without being covered. He said that the minds of Christians were not filthy like those of Mahomedans.

This prince held me in such affection that he granted me permission to enter the *G͟husul-k͟hānah*, which is a secret place where the second audience is given and the council sits. Into it only the principal lords and officers of the court enter. If anyone fails to attend, whether by accident or otherwise, he cannot enter any more without a fresh permission. To obtain this renewal he must make some present to the prince, at the very least one gold and nine silver coins; but with respect to me, I had liberty to enter and come out without anything of that sort. As the prince was in a fright that I would quit his service, he sought from time to time means of obliging me, and paid me all the honours such as I have reported. However, finding he could not capture me through women, he resolved to have a friendly talk with me on religion.

Having sent for me, he begged me not to take it amiss if he gave me a warning; his religion forced it upon him, and to discharge his conscience he was obliged to give it thrice. Following on this, he said it was his intention to elevate me to the rank of a noble at his court; but before this could be I must adopt his religion, which was assuredly the best, and through it I would gain salvation. The moment he had finished his discourse I made a very low bow, and said I knew very well what was contained in the Qurān, also what the Gospel imposed on me. There I had learnt that without baptism no one could enter the kingdom of heaven, and to gain it I was ready to spend and give up my life.

Seeing me so determined, he changed the subject, and he ordered me to send at once to procure him some crystal vessels for drinking water from. I sent off a man to Bombay to bring some. This order he executed—nay, those he brought were very handsome. These I presented to the prince. He seemed to be astonished to see so many crystals at once—more than he had ever seen in all his life—for he imagined them to be of rock-crystal, which is extremely costly in the Mogul country. This is the reason of his asking me what the whole might be worth. Quite happy, I answered him that it was a present from me, and that Doctor Nicolas stated no prices to kings. He was so satisfied with this reply that, coming to me, he patted me on the shoulders, and said, should God ever be gracious and make him king, he would remember my generosity. At the same time he ordered them to give me a valuable set of robes and a very nice horse.

I must here make the remark that, when these kings and princes give [42] audience, they display all imaginable gravity and majesty, in order to inspire fear in everybody; but in their *mahal* and in private they are lowly as infants. This I have experienced several times, they going so far as to play with me with all possible familiarity. It is true that it may be said that all these petty stories referring to me are of no great value to the public, but I thought a charitable reader would easily pardon me this small satisfaction which I have ventured to give myself. Moreover, if anyone were about to travel in these

far-off places, it may be that in some conjuncture these tales of my humble adventures will not be entirely useless to him.

As the entire thoughts of these princes are turned in the direction of the throne, they search out carefully any means of conferring favours on the most powerful men, in the hope of having them on their side. Shāh 'Ālam had usually with him a Hindū prince called Bau Sing (Bhāo Singh),[1] leader of twelve thousand horsemen and a vassal of the king. He served under the orders of Shāh 'Ālam. Noticing that he had ceased to come to court, being unwell, the prince sent me to visit him on his behalf, and to offer my services. This was merely to oblige him, and gain him to his side should any occasion present itself.

The rajah was already old, and was suffering from his lungs. The prince, however, directed me to observe him and reckon how long he might yet live. Bhāo Singh received my visit but refused my services, and told me if I gave him any medicines he would put them with the rest I saw there. He had a whole roomful. God might do with him according to His pleasure, but he would not take the medicines, beyond looking at them. All this care was because he was afraid of being poisoned. This fear was increased by the example he had in Rajah Jai Singh and several others, to whom such a fate had happened. I must say the prince never had designs of that sort, and all he did was intended to oblige. I may add that, during all the time I had the honour to serve him, he never suggested employing me for such a purpose.

Still, he made a trial as to whether I was of a nature that would carry out such devices. This I discovered in the course of time. For example, he sent to me some unknown persons who offered me large sums to bring to their death other patients that I was treating. Others asked me to sell them poison, but no one ever got me to accede to such a demand. Another stratagem was also made use of to test me, and attempt to find me out in a fault. This was the sending to my house of a young and very pretty girl in charge of an old

[1] For Bhāo Singh, Hāḍā, of Bondī, see the 'Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' ii. 305, where it is said he was long at Aurangābād, and was very friendly with Shāh 'Ālam. He died in 1088 H. (March, 1677—February, 1678).

woman on the pretext that the young beauty was ailing. She was barely eighteen, and I found out from her pulse that she was the very reverse of indisposed. I asked her if she suffered from any pain, which could not be detected from the pulse. As I interrogated her, the old woman, making believe that she was a simpleton, left us and took a turn in the garden. The young girl seemed at once to grow very free with me, as well by word as by deed. She told me she longed for my friendship, while hers would not be useless to me. She could secure me many advantages. As soon as I heard her talk I was disgusted, and, quitting her, I came out and shouted [43] to the old dame to take her away. I then grew angry, and, calling my men, ordered them both to be ejected.

Two months afterwards there came another still more lovely; but she was alone, and in a palanquin. Under the same pretence of illness she told me she came from a great distance to obtain a cure. She entered my house wrapped in a shroud, but on nearing me she uncovered, and throwing herself at my feet, implored me to keep her in my house; for, being a stranger, she knew not where to turn. Her prayer was repeated several times. I noticed she had on her several jewels of great value, and her clothes were those of a person of quality, so fine that her skin showed through. All this troubled me, and I fancied that it all might be intended to betray me. Still more did I think so, for the same thing had happened to others; and as I had no intention of marrying, it did not suit my views to get entangled.

With the object, then, of getting her away, I expressed my sympathy, and by pleasant words sent her off. Some time afterwards I was warned that this was one of Shāh 'Ālam's tricks, only resorted to in the hope that she would take my fancy—that I should have an affair with her, and by this means he would obtain an opening for compelling my continuance in Hindūstān, with a change in my religion, or else the loss of my life, as has happened to many who have lost their souls for a woman's love. Only a few years ago two Capuchins, or rather Portuguese, in the town of Iṣfahān fell into this sad soul-destroying misfortune. One of them was prior of the convent,

and both were forced to become Mahomedans through similar events. Afterwards, under the pretext that they were of that religion, they robbed a merchant of their own nation. God forgive those who send out characters like this to be missionaries.

The kings and princes delight in showing themselves to be just, and when taking cognisance of important business, they endeavour to hold the balance even. Since I was in Shāh Ālam's service in the capacity of physician, I was an object of envy to the other physicians, the Persians, who sought means to ruin me. It chanced that a brother-in-law of the prince, named Mirzā Sulaimān Beg, fell ill from a fullness of blood. The prince directed his chief Persian physicians, named *Aguins* (*Ḥakīms*), Moquins (Muqīm [?]), and Mosencan (Muḥsin Khān), to prescribe for him. They failed in curing him, and instead of bleeding him and cooling him down, they gave him hot remedies. They treated him in such a way that in a few days he was in the throes of death. When he was in this state, one of his brothers, named Mirzā Mahomed Moquim (Muḥammad Muqīm), took me to the patient's house, hoping I might help him. I saw at once there was nothing more to be done. On the prince hearing the opinion I had expressed about his brother-in-law, he asked his physicians the reason he had fallen into this condition. They had the ill-will to say that I was the cause. To find out the truth Shāh 'Ālam sent the *nāẓir* Daulat, the chief eunuch of his palace. This man, on his return, reported that the patient complained that the said physicians had killed him, whereas, had the Doctor Nicolas only treated him, he would not have lost his life. While saying these words the poor [44] man expired. But the testimony he had given for me conferred much credit upon me at the court, and gained me the esteem of everybody.

After a time it came to pass that Mirzā Muḥammad Muqīm, brother of the deceased, of whom I have just spoken, went out of his mind. In an access of his madness he slew his father-in-law and some servants, and committed many other crimes. On hearing this the prince made him over to his physicians. Their report was that such a man could never recover the

senses that he had lost. To demonstrate the force of their opinion, they cited as proof a passage in the Qurān which says that for madness there is no cure.

Shāh 'Ālam heard this sad decision pronounced, and at once ordered the patient to be placed in my care, as he believed I should find a remedy. I know not whether this was actually because he thought me cleverer than the others, or because I was a Christian. For I had often noticed that many patients were made over to me when their health was in a desperate state, because they had taken it into their heads that the Saviour had invested me with some virtue or other. With the permission of God I cured this lord in a few days. To reward me for my trouble and for any expense I had incurred, he sent me a horse with very good paces, but made no other payment. The reason of such a meagre present was his miserliness. On my side I was much put out at getting so little for all the trouble I had taken. So, without any words of thanks, I sent the horse back, telling the groom who had brought him, when many men were present, that his master was in no state to send gifts before he had recovered his reason perfectly, and when he had recovered his health I would accept what he sent to me. He had hardly heard my message when he sent me the same horse with a thousand rupees and a very handsome set of robes. The truth is that he did not send me the present willingly, but felt constrained to do it for fear I might tell everyone he was still mad. By this means he would lose the office he held at the court, and also lose everyone's confidence. Shāh 'Ālam, when he learnt what had passed, was very satisfied at the cure, and still more with the answer I had given about the present. On his part he gave me a horse and a set of robes, adding many praises from his own lips, a habit common enough to these princes with physicians who succeed in curing patients they have made over to their care.

Shāh 'Ālam had directed the physician Muqīm to treat the wife of one of his captains called Mabarescan (Mubāriz Khān), a man much beloved by that prince. This woman had been long in a decline, and was worn out by the quantity of blood she had lost. The doctor, finding that his remedies did her

no good, lost all hope of her, and intimated to the prince that her life was in danger. On hearing this, Shāh 'Ālam ordered me to take over the case. I applied myself to her relief with all possible care and diligence, and in a short time I had pulled her through. The physician was vexed in his mind, but outwardly he displayed much goodwill to me, just the contrary of his real feeling. I was not taken in, for I had known that pilgrim for many a long day [45].

The physician Muḥsin Khān treated a uterine (? foster) brother of the prince, whose name was Muḥammad Riẓā. He had a severe fever, which made him delirious. The physician, not recognising his complaint, came to the conclusion that there was no remedy, and gave him up. After that I was ordered to treat the man, and in a short time I put him on his legs again. There were other patients who had been given up in the same way by these gentlemen, but subsequently recovered their health under my hands, to those physicians' disgrace and loss of reputation. This is the reason they were no friends of mine; still more so that, though their patients came to me, none of mine went to them.

I also cured a noble from Balkh called Fatḥ-ullah Khān, a title conferred on him by the king.[1] He had afterwards married an extremely pretty woman, who had served up to him nothing but delicious *plâts* until he had got ill and lost his appetite. He grew so thin that he looked like a skeleton, and no physician was able to do him any good. In the end Shāh 'Ālam ordered me to take charge of him. I knew the constitution of these savages, so I gave him a comforting syrup, which could do him neither harm nor good. Then I ordered him to get his stews made of horseflesh, and by this means he was in a short time restored to his former rude strength.

From this I acquired such renown that many men of this race came to me for treatment. But I got very little out of them, for they are very avaricious, and paid me highly in compliments only. Moreover, I had the reputation of being

[1] Possibly this is Muḥammad Ṣādiq, Khostī, entitled Fatḥullah Khān Bahādur, 'Ālamgīr-shāhi, who died shortly after 1707 (see 'Ma,āṣir-ul-Umara,' iii. 40).

charitable and of curing the poor for the love of God. Thus everybody flocked to my house. The Mahomedan and Hindū surgeons and physicians were very much provoked, for their interests were involved and they lost their practice. However, as they saw they could not injure me directly, they started the rumour that I drank the blood I drew from Mahomedans; that it was by this means I was made so brisk and energetic, and had such a high colour. All this was simply to hinder people coming to me to be treated. Everybody supposed that what they had published was true, and great repugnance was shown to be bled by me. Aware of what it was that troubled them, I told them to bring with them a china vessel, and all they had to do was to carry the blood home, and there bury it, for fear any dog or cat might consume it; for if that happened, they would make noises exactly like those animals. By this measure I put an end to the false rumours, and they were no longer spoken of.

One day, as I was attending to the treatment of some patients with all possible care, there comes into my house a king's slave in a great rage and a great hurry, making much noise and throwing everything into confusion. This man, I imagine, had been sent by the other doctors, my enemies. I went up to him and begged him most civilly and even humbly to do me the favour of not upsetting the sick men. But he paid me no heed, and went on worse than before, and abused me. Seeing how insolent he was, I signed to my men to fall upon him without giving him time to draw, which they forthwith did. Our man, finding himself caught, flew into a fearful rage, and made more noise than ever. He said he would kill me and my men, and such other outrageous speeches.

Thereupon I assumed [46] an aspect of mingled severity and sadness, and said I had compassion for him, seeing he was suffering from blood to the head. His was a case for bloodletting. This remark made him more furious still, and he struggled to get free. Without heat, I ordered them to undress him and then bind him; and sending for a lancet, I made ready to bleed him. The slave, still angry, insisted

that I must not bleed him; if I did, he would kill me. My answer was given in an amiable tone before every one, that it was absolutely necessary to bleed him, that the blood had got to his head, and assuredly if not treated he would be the death of someone.

In the end, by force, I opened two veins in his arm. The fellow was still angry, and wanted me to close the veins; but, ignoring what he said, I showed sorrow at beholding his blood, from time to time feeling his pulse and saying that his blood was very vitiated. Then, raising my eyes, I looked in his face and asked if he did not already feel an alteration in his body. Finding that his menaces and loud talk were of no good to him, nobody listening to them, he adopted at last the mode of humble entreaty, and said in a feeble voice that God had brought him to my house to be cured of the ills he had suffered from through many years. He thanked me for my trouble. In spite of this, I did not trust him without precautions, so, closing the veins with two fingers, I put several new questions. Having replied very properly and civilly to these, just as he ought, I closed the veins and had his clothes and his weapons returned to him. After this he said a thousand flattering things about me, and never more passed in front of my door. When he met me at the king's or elsewhere, he was very polite to me. I have always thought that he did this only from the fear he had that I might announce he was mad, or that I might drain all the blood from his body.

The physician of whom I have spoken had a daughter, who became with child, and at the term she failed to be delivered and was in danger of death. Neither the father nor the other doctors could relieve her. They called in the cleverest and the most experienced in their profession. They even made use of sorcerers. Yet neither the one set nor the other could do anything to relieve her. At last they were forced to come to me; embracing me and flattering me, the father begged me to succour his daughter if it were in my power. At once I informed him of a very easy treatment, which was to anoint her navel. This brought on her accouchement at once. He

afterwards asked me the secret, and I taught it to him, telling him at the same time that my religion commanded me to do good to everyone, even to my enemies; how much more, then, to him (this by way of a compliment), to whom I was under an obligation?

It was by this application that he conducted the accouchement of Prince Kām Bakhsh's wife, whereat the said prince and his father, Aurangzeb, were so grateful to him that they made him many presents of great value, without, however, his acknowledging in the very least the benefit I had secured to him. Instead of being thankful to me for it, he sought means to take my life. It was he who advised one of his friends called Mīr 'Ādil, the criminal judge, to assert to the prince that I vomited forth curses on the prophet Muḥammad, a crime for which the only penalty was death. But the prince knew me, and had a friendly feeling for me. He perceived plainly that all this was only jealousy, and he answered that the information was wrong, and that he himself would go surety for my innocence [47]. In this way my enemies gained only confusion from their accusation, and eight days afterwards Mīr 'Adil lost his office. But as I saw myself every day pursued and persecuted, and there were also other reasons, I resolved to quit the Mogul territory.

It is not the practice among these princes for nobles to have converse with the favourites and servants of other princes, for fear they may spin some web of treason. If it is ever the case, it is always with the permission of their master. It happened that Diler Khān fell ill; he was Shāh 'Ālam's enemy, yet he sent for me to prescribe for him. He knew of the prohibitions on the subject; he sent word that if I went to his house, it would afford a good opening for him to become friends with the prince. He would be always ready to assist him with all the cavalry under his command on any and every occasion that might arise.

As I knew the custom of the court and the scurvy tricks of the Mahomedans, I informed the prince of this affair, and pointed out to him that Diler Khān had sent for me. Hardly were the words out of my mouth when his face began to flush,

and he asked me very hastily whether I wanted to go there. To that I replied with a smiling face that, if I was anxious to go there, it was only to see the state he was in—whether he would live or die, so that I might make my report to His Highness. These words appeased him, and he forbade me to go. Diler Khān died, and it was found to be from poison administered by his son-in-law, Azil Can, and by one of the prince's commanders.[1]

I have stated that it is usual for Mogul princes to rear only four of their sons. Nevertheless, Shāh 'Ālam, by a very special grace from the king, has five. It happened that one of his wives—the one he loved best—was with child. Her name was Nūr-un-nissā Begam. Aware that Aurangzeb would never consent to let her offspring live, she took drugs to procure abortion. What she had taken produced no effect, and in her husband's presence she asked me for drugs for that purpose. I betrayed my astonishment, and said to her that I felt persuaded His Highness kept me in his service for the preservation and not the destruction of human beings. Such a thing was no part of my business. They rejoined that they took on themselves the penalty. To that, after alleging further reasons to dissuade them from this evil course, among others what is written in the Gospel—that he who kills by the sword shall perish by the sword—and having held forth a long time on the subject, in the end I persuaded them to allow the innocent thing to live. The child lived some year and a half, when the unnatural monarch caused him to be secretly poisoned. If they did not procure an abortion, it was because they dreaded to hazard the life of the mother, *as they wrote it*.[2]

It was at about this time that Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-dīn conceived a raging jealousy [48] against his wife, for reasons that I cannot

[1] Jalāl, entitled Diler Khān, son of Daryā Khān, Da,ūdzaī, died in the twenty-seventh year of Aurangzeb, 1094 H., between the 1st Ramaẓān (August 24, 1683) and the end of that year (December 18, 1683), at Aurāngābad (see 'M.-ul-U.,' ii. 42, and 'Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī'). The former mentions (only to deny it) the rumour that Aurangzeb poisoned him. According to the 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' he died about the 25th Ramaẓān, 1094 H. (September 17, 1683), when N. M. was in Goa, and could not have been in Aurangābād.

[2] The last words are obscure.

state. She was the most lovely and perfectly formed creature of all those in the *maḥal*. This is why he poisoned her with his own hands in some betel he gave her. The mother of the princess, seeing her in this sad state, begged me to aid her and give her medicine. This I did in secret, and she escaped; but again he gave her poison on three occasions, while I continued to give her antidotes. Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-dīn, having learnt this, refused to see me. At last he found his opportunity. He was sent to govern at Burhānpur, while his father, Shāh 'Ālam, continued at Aurangābād, and I with him.

Again he gave her poison. Then her mother wrote to Shāh 'Ālam that if he wanted her daughter to recover, he must send me in the greatest haste. The prince replied to this that there was no necessity to send me; they could employ the other doctors, who were then present with the princess. But before the reply arrived she was dead. After this tragic occurrence, Mu'izz-ud-dīn became my friend again as formerly, and showed me much affection.

There was also a concubine in the palace of Shāh 'Ālam who fell ill; she had taken various purges given by the Persian physicians without any of them affording the least relief. Her abdomen was much distended, and she was in risk of death. I was ordered to treat her. I began by sending her an enema with a view to an evacuation. I gave directions how it was to be used, as they do not have recourse to these in India. The implement was wrapped round with a towel sealed with my seal. The doorkeepers and eunuchs seeing this strange thing, and not knowing what was to be done with it, carried it straight to the chief eunuch, and said it was I who had sent it. He was just as surprised as the others, having no idea what it was, and sent for me to inquire the use of such an instrument. I made him understand what it was and for whom it was prepared. Thereupon he directed my orders to be at once obeyed. As I detected that they did not trust me, I petitioned the prince, showing that it was inexpedient for me to serve longer at a court where I was mistrusted. Obtaining the particulars of the affair, he ordered everything bearing my seal to be admitted.

This prince (Shāh 'Ālam) is naturally affable and benign; and since I know him well, I am of opinion that, should he become king, he would do no harm to anyone. There is much difference between his temperament and that of his father. One day when he was out hunting in the country of Kābul, he was forced to take shelter in a shepherd's hut, owing to the rain. While there a very pretty girl appeared before him; it was the shepherd's daughter. To amuse himself, he asked if she was willing to marry him. The young person, without knowing to whom she spoke, answered that there was no scarcity of fair men whom she could marry, rather than take him, who was dark. He laughed heartily at the answer; but the eunuchs present wanted to beat her, which he strenuously forbade [49]. Then he asked her if she would be content to espouse a fair young man then present, one of the prince's slaves. She assented cordially. This marriage gave her access to the palace, and she was much liked by the prince.

Among the slaves of the princes are some who are gentlemen soldiers and hold good positions. Some are purchased, others offer themselves to serve in that station. The woman spoken of above fell ill of an intestinal complaint which no one could overcome. In the end I was directed to treat her; and, discovering that drugs did her no good, I came to the conclusion that a ring of red-hot iron would be most effective. Accordingly I applied one upon her navel. It began to set in motion the contents of her bowels, and without any other remedy they passed away. I believe this remedy would be of benefit to those attacked by colic and iliac passion (obstruction of the bowels) when in extremity, and thereby often save life.[1]

From what I have said above, I imagine that the reader will have understood the policy with which these kings and princes conduct themselves. He can also see what remains for me to say. For, although I may have omitted several things, I have yet mentioned enough to give a complete acquaintance with this vast empire.

[1] See also II. 128, and III. 186.

LIST OF THE PROVINCES IN THE MOGUL EMPIRE, TWENTY-FOUR IN NUMBER, WITH A STATEMENT OF THE REVENUES DRAWN FROM EACH, FROM GRAIN ONLY AND OTHER PRODUCTS NECESSARY TO LIFE, OVER AND ABOVE OTHER REVENUE TO BE NOTED HEREAFTER.[1]

First let us state the names of the divisions, towns, and villages which are in these provinces or are dependent on them. *Sarkār* means 'division'; *pargana* means a government subordinate to a division.

	Karors.	Lākhs.	Rupees.
1. The province of Deli (Dihlī) has under it eight *sarkārs* and two hundred and twenty *parganahs*, which yield one *karor* twenty-five *lākhs* and fifty thousand rupees	1	25	50,000
2. The province of Āgra or Akbarābād has under it fourteen *sarkārs* and two hundred and seventy-eight *parganahs*, which yield two *karors* twenty-two *lākhs* and three thousand seven hundred and fifty rupees	2	22	03,750
3. The province of Lāhor has five *sarkārs* and three hundred and fourteen *parganahs*, which yield two *karors* thirty-three *lākhs* and five thousand rupees ...	2	33	05,000
4. The province of Ajmer, which yields from its *sarkārs* and *parganahs* two *karors* nineteen *lākhs* and two thousand rupees	2	19	02,000
5. [50] The province of Gujarāt has nine *sarkārs* and nineteen *parganahs*, which yield two *karors* thirty-three *lākhs* and ninety-five thousand rupees ...	2	33	95,000
6. The province of Mālwah has eleven *sarkārs* and two hundred and fifty *parganahs*, which yield ninety-nine *lākhs* six thousand two hundred and fifty rupees ...	0	99	06,250

[1] By 'from grain' the author means the land revenue. These figures are correctly enough reproduced in Catrou, 264, 265, 266, and have been largely relied upon by E. Thomas, 'Revenue Resources,' 1871, and other writers. I think myself they must be accepted with much reserve. As usual in such tables, the sum total is not obtainable by adding up the details, and it is impossible to find out where the error lies. Then, the round numbers opposite Nos. 20-24 show that these entries, at any rate, are mere guesses or approximations, and the province of Audh is entirely omitted. There remains the objection that applies to all similar tables—those of the 'Ā,īn-i-Akbarī' included—that we do not know what the figures represent: whether (1) a standard assessment (*jama'-i-kāmil*), (2) the demand of some particular year (*jama'-i-wājib*), or (3) the actual collections (*jama'-i-waṣūlī*). I insert another table, drawn up for Bahādur Shāh (Shāh 'Ālam) in 1707 (see Jag Jīvan Dās, Gujarātī, 'Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh,' British Museum Additional MS., No. 26,253, fol. 51*a et seq.*). Here, also, the totals are wrong, and there are, unfortunately, some blanks; but I have filled these in by figures from the other columns, so as to give an approximate total.

	Karors.	Lākhs.	Rupees.
7. The province of Paṭnah or Bihār has eight *sarkārs* and two hundred and forty-five *parganahs*, which yield one *karor* twenty-one *lākhs* and fifty thousand rupees	I	21	50,000
8. The province of Multān has fourteen *sarkārs* and ninety-six *parganahs*, which yield fifty *lākhs* and twenty-five thousand rupees	0	50	25,000
9. The province of Kābul has thirty-five *parganahs*, which yield thirty-two *lākhs* and seven thousand two hundred and fifty rupees	0	32	07,250
10. The province of Taṭṭah and its dependencies, sixty *lākhs* and twelve thousand rupees	0	60	12,000
11. The province of Bhakkar and its dependencies yield twenty-four *lākhs*	0	24	00,000
12. The province of Urecha [Orissā] has eleven *sarkārs* and [one hundred][1] *parganahs*, which yield fifty-seven *lākhs* and seven thousand five hundred rupees	0	57	07,500
13. The province of Kashmīr has forty-six *parganahs*, which yield thirty-five *lākhs* [and] five thousand rupees ...	0	35	05,000
14. The province of Allahābād, with its dependencies, yields seventy-seven *lākhs* and thirty-eight thousand rupees	0	77	38,000
15. The province of Aurangābād or Daulatābād, in the Dakhin, has eight *sarkārs* and seventy-nine *parganahs*, which yield one *karor* sixty-two *lākhs* and four thousand seven hundred and fifty rupees	I	72[2]	04,750
16. The province of Barār has six *sarkārs* and one hundred and ninety-one *parganahs*, which yield one *karor* fifty-eight *lākhs* and seven thousand five hundred rupees	I	58	07,500
17. The province of Burhānpur or Khāndes has three *sarkārs* and one hundred and three *parganahs*, which yield one *karor* eleven *lakhs* and five thousand rupees	I	II	05,000
18. The province of Baglānah has forty-three *parganahs*, and yields sixty-eight *lākhs* and eighty-five thousand rupees	0	68	85,000
19. The province of Nande [Nānder ?] yields seventy-two *lakhs*	0	72	00,000
20. The province of Ḍhākkah or Bengal yields four *karors*	4	00	00,000
21. The province of Ujjain yields two *karors*	2	00	00,000
22. The province of Rājmaḥal yields one *karor* and fifty thousand rupees	I	00	50,000

[1] The text has 'ses,' and Catrou renders it 'un assez grand nombre'; in the 'A,īn' lists, ii. 142-144, there are ninety-nine *parganahs*. I therefore read *ses* = cent.

[2] *Sic* in text; in the words, probably 'soixante-douze' should be read for 'soixante-deux.'

	Karors.	Lākhs.	Rupees.
23. The kingdom of Bījāpur, with the Karnātik, yields six *karors*	5[1]	00	00,000
24. The kingdom of Gulkandah, with another portion of the Karnātik, yields five *karors*	5	00	00,000
	38[2]	71	94,000

[51] Although the Mogul asserts himself to be ruler over fifty-four provinces, I do not name them all, because they are for the most part in these days subdivisions of the provinces that I have just enumerated.

To understand the revenues of which I have just given the figures, it should be known that a *karor* is one hundred *lākhs*, or ten millions, and that a *lākh* is one hundred thousand rupees. When summed up the whole comes to three hundred and eighty-seven millions one hundred and ninety-four thousand rupees, or in French money at thirty *sols* to the rupee, five hundred and eighty millions seven hundred and ninety-one thousand *livres*.[3]

In addition to this revenue obtained from grain, *et cetera*, there are other considerable receipts. One is the tribute paid by the Hindūs, as I have stated in my Second Part (II. 182). This has no fixed total, being sometimes more and sometimes less. This variation is caused by deaths, and by travellers moving from one place to another. If carrying with them a receipt for what they have paid, the latter are allowed to pass free. But if they chance to lose this paper, or it be stolen, they are made to pay again either in the same or in another province. The officials embezzle their collections most terribly, to such an extent that the king gets more often than not less than half.

There is a second customs duty upon goods brought by Hindū merchants; it is five per cent.; and though Aurangzeb

[1] In words the text has 'six,' but in figures 5 *karors;* and the latter figure seems correct, judging by the total at foot.

[2] The correct addition I make Rs. 38,72,59,000, or Rs. 65,000 more than in the text.

[3] If 580,791,000 *livres* of 30 *sols* equal 387,794,000 rupees, then 1 rupee equals 1½ *livres*, or 10 *annas* 8 *pies* equal 1 *livre*. Taking the rupee at 2s., 1 *livre* equals 1s. 4d., and the revenue given above equals £38,725,900.

STATEMENT OF REVENUES PREPARED FOR BAHADUR SHAH IN 1709, TAKEN FROM THE 'MUNTAKHAB-UT-TAWĀRĪKH' OF JAG JĪVAN DĀS, GUJARĀTĪ (British Museum Additional MS., No. 26,253, fol. 51 *et seq.*).

HINDŪSTĀN, 15 *Ṣūbahs*; DAKHIN (INCLUDING BĪJĀPUR AND GULKANDAH), 6 *Ṣūbahs*; TOTAL, 21 *Ṣūbahs*.

Ṣūbah.	Standard Assessment in *Dāms* (40=1 Rupee).	Standard Assessment (reduced to Rupees).	Full Assessment (in Rupees).	Last Recorded Receipts (in Rupees).	Manucci's Figures (in Rupees).
HINDŪSTĀN:					
1. Akbarābād ...	1,14,17,06,057	2,85,42,651	1,06,97,671	68,92,897	2,22,03,750
2. Shāhjahānābad	1,22,29,50,658	3,05,73,766	94,04,030	63,49,110	1,25,50,000
3. Ajmer	65,33,45,702	1,63,33,642	1,06,97,371	68,92,895	2,19,02,000
4. Allahābād [*Pān* 12,00,000] ...	45,65,43,248	1,14,13,581	1,05,79,371	68,92,890	77,38,000
5. Audh	32,13,17,119	80,32,928	91,25,551	47,85,871	[Omitted]
6. Ahmadābad ...	45,47,44,135	1,13,68,603	89,61,806	71,84,685	2,33,95,000
7. Lāhor (5 *duābahs* and Kangrah Hills) ...	89,81,32,107	2,24,53,302	87,40,383	30,42,327	2,33,05,000
8. Kābul	11,10,39,354	27,75,983	47,40,221	30,42,337	32,07,250
9. Bahār	40,71,81,100	1,01,79,527	93,50,931	57,14,873	1,21,50,000
10. Taṭṭhah ...	6,88,11,800	17,20,295	53,65,397	34,49,657	84,12.000[1]
11. Mālwah ...	40,39,80,658	1,00,99,516	84,72,291	48,13,283	2,99,06,[illegible][2]
12. Multān ...	22,43,49,893	56,08,747	51,69,389	24,75,649	50,25,000
13. Kashmīr ...	22,99,11,300	57,47,782	29,62,593	24,80,389	35,05,000
14. Bengal ...	52,41,31,240	1,31,03,281	[Blank]	81,19,267	5,00,50,000[3]
15. Uḍissah ...	14,28,11,000	35,70,275	11,57.821	[Blank]	57,07,500
Total ...	7,26,09,55,371	18,15,23,879	10,54,24,826	7,21,36,130	22,90,56,750
				98,78,558[4]	
				8,20,14,688	
DAKHIN:					
16. Aurangābād ...	1,00,49,65,000	2,51,24,125	1,00,51,000	91,99,006	1,72,04,750
17. Barār	81,40,25,000	2.03,50,625	90,11,309	75,89,219	1,58,07,500
18. Khāndesh ...	34,81,30,200	87,03,255	40,06,019	31,19,017	1,79,90,000[5]
19. Ẓafarābād Bīdar ...	37,29,74,307	93,24,357	[Blank]	42,42,932	72,00,000
20. Bījāpur ..	2,35,55,00,000	5,88,87,500	[Blank]	5,89,87,501	5,00,00,000
21. Ḥaidarābād ...	1,15,13,00,000	2,87,82,500	[Blank]	2,47,82,500	5,00,00.000
Total ...	6,04,68,94,507	15,11,72,362	2,30,68,328	10,79,20,175	15,82,02,250
			9,69,94,357[6]		
			12,00,62,685		
Grand total ...	13,30,78,49,878	33,26,96,241	22,54,87,511	18,99,34,863	38,72,59,000
Totals, according to text of MS.:					
Hindūstān... ...	7,25,26,91,767	18,13,17,294	—	8,20,14,688	—
Dakhin	6,08,73,00,074	15,21,82,501	—	10,79,20,173	—
Total ...	13.33,99,91,841	33.34,99,795	—	18,99,34.861	—
Difference in excess in MS.	3,21,41,963	8,03,554	—	—	—

This table brings into relief the great exaggeration of Manucci's figures, which are about £5,000,000 in excess of the assumed standard land revenue demand of seven years later than his time; while the actual demand for that later year was £16,000,000, and the actual collections £19,000,000 to £21,000,000, less than his figures. It must also be remembered that his total does not include the province of Audh, of which the standard assessment in Jag Jīvan Dās's table is over 80 *lakhs* of rupees—say, £800,000. Of what value, then, can elaborate comparisons of the Mogul revenue with present-day taxation be worth when founded on such inflated statements?

[1] Including Bhakkar. [2] Mālwah and Ujjain. [3] Dhākah and Rājmahal.
[4] Estimated for Orissa. [5] Including Baglānah. [6] Estimated for 3 *sūbahs*.

had remitted it for Mahomedans, he has not failed all the same to take two and a half per cent. [from them]. He makes those whom he had exempted pay the rents and customs duty. He also draws large sums from the bathings which the Hindūs perform at various points in the empire. There is also another source of revenue, the diamond mines in the kingdom of Gulkandah, over and above the largest and the best of the stones. Any which weigh above three-eighths of an ounce belong to the Crown. The seaports also yield him a large revenue; among them are those of Sindī, Bharoch, Sūrat, and Kambāya. Sūrat alone brings him in usually thirty *lakhs*, besides the eleven[1] lakhs derived from the profit on new coin struck there.

In addition to all these items, he has the revenue from the whole coast of Choromandal, from Masulipatam (Machhlipatanam), from Narsāpur,[2] and of the whole coast from Pundy[2] (Pūndī), or from Ginzerly (Gingerli),[2] as far as Ballasor (Bāleshwar);[2] also from all the ports on the river Ganges. Over and above all these items, he seizes everything left by his generals, officers, and other officials at their death, in spite of having declared that he makes no claim on the goods of defunct persons. Nevertheless, under the pretext that they are his officers and are in debt to the Crown, he lays hold of everything. If they leave widows, he gives them a trifle every year and some land to furnish a subsistence. He also causes the goods of merchants to be seized if they die without heirs. Again, added to all that, he receives very considerable presents from the Hindū princes, *zamīndārs*, and their servants.

The rajahs, the generals of the army, and the commanders are made to contribute a certain sum, according to the number of Hindūs in their service. Usually this is taken as a deduction

[1] In text 's s,' which Catrou, 266, renders as 'eleven.'

[2] Narsāpur, lat. 16° 26′, long. 81° 44′, thirty-nine miles south of Rajahmundry, Godāveri district ('Madras Manual of Administration,' iii. 565). It had an English factory (1677-1827); a French factory was there in 1758; the Dutch had one from 1665. Pūndī, a small fort on the Orissa coast, 467 miles north-east of Madras (*ibid.*, iii. 767). Gingerly, the east coast between Vizagapatnam and Jagarnāth in Orissa (see Yule, 375, and Sir R. C. Temple, 'T. Bowery,' 120). Balasor, in Cuttack, 116 miles south-west of Calcutta (Thornton, 'Gazetteer,' 61).

from the pay disbursed to them. The king's sons even are not exempted, and Shāh 'Alam, my prince, paid in my day eighty thousand rupees a year. These revenues amount to something near the same total as the revenue from grain, of which I gave the figures above.[1]

It ought to be remembered that the whole of the merchandise which is exported from the Mogul kingdom comes [52] from four kinds of plants—that is to say, the shrub that produces the cotton from which a large quantity of cloth, coarse and fine, is made. These cotton goods are exported to Europe, Persia, Arabia, and other quarters of the world. The second is the plant which produces indigo. The third is the one from which comes opium, of which a large amount is used on the Java coast. The fourth is the mulberry-tree, on which their silk-worms are fed, and, as it may be said, that commodity (silk) is grown on those trees.

For the export of all this merchandise, European and other traders bring much silver to India. They also carry away great quantities of diamonds and saltpetre. The traders also bring much gold from China, from Āchīn,[2] situated on the coast of F. Su (?)—I mean upon the island of Sumatra. Also from the coast of Persia there came *Venetians*[3] (a coin) and *sequins*[3] (coins), in addition to some fruits and liqueurs, almost all of which are for the use of Europeans living in India.

Since I have given an account of how these kings and princes pay their soldiers and servants, I think it convenient to add something about the government of this vast empire. It is carried on through three principal officials. The first is the chief *Wazīr*, who is first minister and principal counsellor. He

[1] The statement that the miscellaneous revenue equalled the land revenue can hardly be accepted; it must be a great exaggeration. In fact, many of the miscellaneous items, such as sea customs, collected by the *dīwāns*, were entered as *maḥāls* (heads of receipt) in the *māl* (land revenue), and not in the *sā,ir* (miscellaneous) accounts, and thus are already included in Manucci's total of £38,725,900. Most of the *sā,ir* items (fines, market dues, ferry tolls) were collected by the police—that is, by the *koṭwāls* and *faujdārs*.

[2] Āchīn, a state and town in the north-west angle of Sumatra Island (Yule, 3).

[3] 'Venetians' (Yule, 964*b*), a name for *sequins* (*ibid.*, 193*b*), the Venetian *zecchino* or *cecchino*; from *zecca*, the mint at Venice, a word of Arabic origin (*sikkah*, a die).

it is who has charge of letting out the lands on rent,' and collecting from them the income for the benefit of the Crown. He it is, also, who confers all offices, as well upon the nobles as upon subordinates.

The second high official is the *Dīwān* of the salaries.[1] His duties are the receiving all the revenues of the empire, the realizing the property of deceased persons, whether nobles or poor men. It is also his duty to resume the property of those persons who are removed from the service; he also carries out any alteration in offices or in allowances. The third great official is the *Mīr Sāmān*. He has charge of the whole expenditure of the royal household in reference to both great and small things.

In addition to these three officials there are others. One is the Mīr Ba<u>kh</u>shi, who is in charge of all the cavalry of the empire; there is another who is placed over all the infantry; another, called the *qāẓī*, who decides cases in the last resort. In spite of having those powers, when he condemns anyone to death he cannot order execution without first reporting to the king three times. Joined with him are always two *muftīs*, who act as judges in cases. If any woman objects to living with her husband and goes to lodge a plaint, he (the *qāẓī*) keeps her three days in his house; and after that interval he pronounces judgment on the dispute between them just as he thinks best. No one can demand the reasons for his acts in that respect, whether his decision be a good or bad one.

As I was friends with the *qāẓī* 'Abd-ul-wahhāb,[2] who invited me frequently to his house, I will recount a judgment delivered by him in my presence. There was a woman who came to him requiring the condemnation of a young man then in custody for having slain her husband. The *qāẓī* in a mild tone counselled her to forgive, and if she would listen to him, he would advise her to marry the man, or else some other should she object to having the murderer. The woman consented to the proposal, the

[1] The word used is *traites* (French), 'draft, order of payment,' and I take it to represent *Dīwān-i-Tan*, *tan* being a contraction of *tan<u>kh</u>wah* (literally, 'body' + 'need'), meaning pay and salary. This *dīwān's* chief duty was the regulation of *jāgīrs*, or assignments of land revenue in lieu of pay and allowances.

[2] For 'Abd-ul-wahhāb, see I. 277, and II. 145.

young man was released [52[a]], and she married him. Seeing this easy way of proceeding, I took the liberty to say to the *qāẓī* that the sentence he had just pronounced was likely to be the cause of several murders; for there being many women who were not content with their husbands, they would procure their murder by the hand of their lover, in order to marry again at once with the latter. He admitted the force of what I said, but he made believe to laugh at it, and said it was a charity to secure a benefit to the young man and save his life. But if the woman had persisted in her complaint, he would have condemned him to death. All the same, from all that I could see, I believe that the *qāẓī* acted thus merely to keep the woman three days in his house; for, in spite of his age, I fancy that he was not a stranger to such matters, and the woman was very pretty.

As a proof of the absolute justice of the decisions that the *qāẓī* delivers, I will report a case which happened a month or so after the flight of his daughter from her home, carrying off all the best of his property, in the manner that I have related (II. 144). This *qāẓī* had a son, or, rather, a nephew, whom he greatly loved. This youth often heard cases and pronounced sentence in his uncle's place. The nephew, having learnt that a Hindū had a very lovely wife, caused her to be carried off, and detained her in his house. On learning this fact, the husband complained to the *qāẓī* and other officials, but without effect. All the *qāẓī* said was that he deserved death for having behaved to his wife in an illicit way, only to think of which was horrible. Although angered at such injustice, the Hindū concealed his vexation for some days. But one day, while the nephew was on his way to the court, the Hindū hid in the crowd surrounding his palanquin, and thrust his dagger (*kaṭṭārī*) into his abdomen. Leaving it there, he instantly mingled again with the crowd and disappeared. When the bearers had lowered the palanquin, they opened it and found their master a corpse.

There is still another subaltern official that they call the *koṭwāl*, who is a sort of lieutenant of police. It is his business to stop the distillation of arrack (spirits, *'arq*), the *eau-de-vie* used in the Indies. He has to see that there are no public

women in the town, nor anything else forbidden by the king. He obtains information about all that goes on, so as to be able to send in his report. For this purpose there are throughout the Mogul Empire certain persons known as 'alarcor' (*halāl-khor*),[1] a word which means 'men who live on what is well earned.' These men are under obligation to go twice a day to clean out every house, and they tell the *koṭwāl* all that goes on. On his part, the *koṭwāl* must render an account to the king of what he he has heard has happened, whether it be by night or by day. He also has the duty of arresting thieves and criminals. He is subordinate to the *qāẓī*, and receives orders from him; and if anyone is robbed within the bounds of his jurisdiction, he is forced to make good what has been taken. It is also his business to collect the income from the town.[2] Under his orders there is a considerable body of cavalry [53] and a great number of foot soldiers; for in every ward there is a horseman and twenty to thirty foot soldiers, who, in a sort of way, go the rounds. There is another official in charge of the grain supply, who informs the king daily of the price of everything sold. In all the mansions of the nobles, and of those holding important offices, there are *wāqi'ah-navīs* and *khufiyah-navīs*, who are under obligation to send word to the court of all that happens.

It seems to me now convenient to give a statement of the cavalry that the Mogul keeps in garrison in all the provinces of which I have spoken, of the merchandise to be found in them, in what latitude their capitals are situated, and other notable particulars.

Deli (*Dihlī*).

The province of Dihlī is in the middle of the empire. Its capital bears the same name, and it is in this town that the Mogul ordinarily dwells and keeps his court. For it was in this place that of old the powerful Hindū kings resided; also the Chinese governors, and the thirty and one Paṭhān kings who reigned; and divers other potentates, such as the

[1] *Halāl-khor* ('eaters of lawful things'): the word is applied ironically, and actually means 'unclean eaters,' 'eaters of refuse.' They are the house scavengers.

[2] That is, the various dues and cesses.

Sayyids and the Rājpūts; and, finally, all the Mahomedan rulers.

Although it is the seat of the principal court, there are not many manufactures. But its territory is fertile in grain, from which is collected the amount I have recorded. You can see still up to this day round the town several ancient edifices built by the Chinese, by Hindū princes and Paṭhān kings. There is even a town called Tocklabad (Tughlaqābād), built by the ninth Paṭhān king. The greater part of it still stands.

This prince, called Chatoclug (Shāh Tughlaq), reigned nine years and nine days. He died when entering one of the gates of the said town, through the treachery of his son perpetrated at that place. The son had expressly prepared a trap, which fell upon the poor man and took his life. It is for this reason and others similar that these kings have not the slightest trust in their children.

There are also in this province other ruined cities, where the Mahomedans sometimes resort out of piety. For example, there is one where there is a pretended saint buried that they call Coja Catobdin (Khwājah Quṭb-ud-dīn), and in another of them close by there is another similar saint called Sultan Machac (Sulṭān-ul-mushā,ikh).[1] I have noticed at these places that many tricks are resorted to as excitements to the devotion of the superstitious.

Ordinarily the king keeps fifty thousand horse in garrison besides those in movement every day, an almost equal number. He has twenty thousand infantry, all Rājpūts: out of them twelve thousand are in charge of the artillery; the rest are for guarding the royal palace, mounting sentry, *et cetera*. As regards the royal establishment, there is an officer styled Daroga Do Cossa Choqui (*Dāroghah* of the *Khāṣ Chaukī*)—that is, 'officer of the chosen sentinels'; the reason is that the company to which this name is given are all picked men, and of the noblest families. Ordinarily they number four thousand horsemen. This officer has charge of the Gousal-cana (*Ghusal-khānah*).

[1] This must be meant for the well-known tomb of Niẓām-ud-dīn Auliyā, who is styled Sulṭān-ul-Mushā,ikh, 'King of Holy Men' (Beale, 'Oriental Biography,' 302).

Under his orders are some slave officers with their men, who are called *Cheala* (*Chelah*)—that is, 'branded.' There is another officer at the head of five hundred halberdiers, who carry golden maces; their pay ranges from three hundred up to one thousand rupees a month, according to the class they are in. They are employed for sending messages to princes and for other business of importance. Again, there is an officer who commands one thousand halberdiers with silver maces. These, too, are *manṣabdārs*, and their pay is from two hundred up to five hundred rupees a month. Their duty is to carry letters and orders to the generals and captains. These men also attend at the reception of ambassadors and other business of less importance. There is still another officer set over two thousand *manṣabdārs* with iron maces, who have the same pay as soldiers. They are used for the lowest affairs and business.

These three orders of mace-bearers also add to the pomp and parade when the king holds audience. They are in addition to the other soldiers who are posted all round the royal courtyard. On such occasions there are nine elephants highly caparisoned and decorated, followed each by ten others, male and female. The nine chief elephants remain until the end of the audience; the others that accompany them, after making their obeisance, withdraw. Besides the elephants there are nine horses saddled and fitted with beautiful trappings. During the reign of Shāh-jahān the retinue was as large again. Especially was this seen after any prince had left that emperor's court, taking with him as many as two hundred thousand men. Yet it seemed as if not a single person had gone away.

This town lies near thirty-one degrees forty-five minutes of latitude, and one hundred and twenty-three of longitude. Once a week all the inhabitants, great and small, are obliged to attend and mount guard outside and inside the fortress. When anyone quits the service he has to give up two months' pay before getting his discharge. As for the rest of what is due to these men, it is made over to them in old clothes, and even these are valued at high rates, and are obtained with the greatest difficulty.

Agrah, or Akbarābād.

This province abounds in white cloth, silk stuffs, cloth of gold and of silver of great fineness, used for turbans, in lace and other adornments for women. All the above goods are manufactured in this place. The country round produces much indigo, which is collected there. The capital town has the same name; it was built by Akbar. It is at this town that are gathered together in a treasure-house all the coin received from the direction of Bengal. The garrison maintained is of fifteen thousand horsemen; this great number is kept to resist the peasantry, who [55] are much inclined to rebellion. It is situated at twenty-nine degrees twenty minutes of latitude, and one hundred and twenty-three of longitude.

Laor (*Lāhor*).

The town of Lāhor was founded by the faithful and famous Melekas (Malik Ghiyāṣ),[1] of whom I have spoken in my History (II. 137). It is the capital of a province. A quantity of fine white cloth is made there; many pieces of silk of all colours, which are called *elattchas* (*alāchah*);[2] also much work in embroidery, carpets, plain and flowered, good bows and arrows, tents, saddles, swords, coarse woollen stuffs, boots and shoes. Much rock-salt is gained from neighbouring mountains, and there are other commodities, which are exported to Dihlī, where everything finds a sale and is consumed. The people here are well-built and almost white; they are very friendly and helpful. There are many learned men, called Talebelem (*ṭālib-i-ʻilm*). It has a fertile soil, yielding rice and corn. Sugar is very dear (*grand-marché*). The province is styled the 'Panjāb' because there are five great rivers. There are twelve thousand cavalry in garrison; and the capital lies in thirty-three degrees

[1] See *ante*, Part II., 137 *et seq.*, where I transliterated 'Malik Khāṣ' according to Manucci's interpretation. But I think it must be meant for Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Muḥammad, Ghorī, died 599 H. (1202-3); but he was not a slave.

[2] For *alachah*, see Yule, 13*a*, 13*b*, a silk cloth, and 'Abdullah bin Yūsuf 'Alī, 'Monograph on Silk Fabrics,' 95. The rock-salt 'from mountains' must be meant for salt from the Salt Range between the Jihlam and the Indus.

of latitude, and one hundred and nineteen degrees forty minutes of longitude.

Asmir (Ājmer).

The name is that of the chief town of a province of the same name. They make much fine white cloth; they harvest much grain; milk, butter, and salt are abundant. The last article comes from the district of Sambhal (Sāmbhar),[1] subordinate to this province. The province pays yearly a revenue of seventeen lākhs of rupees. It adjoins the territory of the Rājpūts, called Rāṭhor, and the Rānā's country. There are kept in the province six thousand horsemen as a garrison, and the chief town lies at thirty degrees of latitude, and one hundred and twenty and a half of longitude.

Gujarāt, or Aḥmadābād.

In this province there is made a prodigious quantity of gold and silver cloth, and of flowered silks. These goods are in demand in all the courts throughout the empire. They also make much gold and silver work, and a quantity of jewellery set with stones. The dealers who give the orders for this class of work go themselves, or send agents to the diamond mines, to the kingdom of Pegu, to the Pescaria[2] coast (Fisherman's Coast), and other places, to buy the precious stones they require. All these merchants are Hindū by religion, and are called Gujarātis. Their persons are well made, and their women always smothered in jewellery. The country is fertile in cereals; it was conquered by King Akbar from Sulṭān Bahādur. Usually a garrison of ten thousand cavalry is kept there. The capital town lies in twenty-three degrees of latitude, and one hundred and sixteen degrees thirty minutes of longitude.

Mālwah.

This province produces white and coloured cloth abundantly. The country is fertile in cereals; a garrison of seven thousand

[1] The Sāmbhar salt lake is about fifty miles north of Ājmer. I presume that N. M. means that seventeen lakhs of rupees were obtained from the salt.

[2] Piscaria (Yule, 700), the coast of Tinnevelly, so called from the great pearl-fishery there.

horse is maintained, and the capital lies at twenty-six degrees of latitude, and one hundred and three degrees fifty minutes of longitude.

Paṭnah, or Bihār.

Fine white cloth is very plentiful in this province; they find there the materials for a great quantity of saltpetre, which is carried by the Europeans to Europe. At the principal town, called Paṭnah, much earthen pottery is made, which emits a pleasant odour, and is so fine that it is no thicker than paper. It is sent to court as a rarity, and is used by the nobles. A garrison of seven thousand horse is kept; and it (Paṭnah) is situated at twenty-five degrees thirty minutes of latitude, and one hundred and thirty-two of longitude.

Multān.

Much printed cloth is made in this province, also bows and arrows. The country has many short-haired camels, mules, and asses. It is in this province that there are powerful *zamīndārs*, Biloch by race, who have always been loyal to the crown. They are all Mahomedans. Six thousand horse are kept there as garrison, and the capital town lies at thirty-three degrees forty minutes of latitude, and one hundred and fifteen degrees twenty minutes of longitude.

Kābul.

This province abounds in good horses, called *Turkī*, also in large hairy camels; and it has many good fruits, the equal of those of Europe. It is very cold there; the people are fair, and they eat at tables like in Europe. They allow no black men to sit down with them, and call them *gullum* (*ghulām*)—that is, 'slaves.' The traders of India go to this province to buy beavers (*castors*) and the skins of those beasts, musk, *zedoar*, and rubies. These things are brought there from the countries of Badakhshān and Balkh, and from neighbouring lands. Although this province yields little revenue, it has a garrison of sixty thousand horse. The reason is that it is near the kingdom of Persia, that of the king of [omitted],[1] and the Paṭhāns. The

[1] Probably the word to be supplied is Balkh.

capital town is situated at thirty-six degrees twenty minutes of latitude, and one hundred and thirteen degrees fifty minutes of longitude.

Taṭṭhah.

The province of Taṭṭhah abounds in very fine white cloth, also in coarse cloth and printed cloth of two kinds, and has much leather, which is exported to Arabia and Persia. The country produces much grain, and butter is very plentiful, which is exported to Masqāṭ. A garrison of five thousand horse is maintained, and the capital town is situated at twenty-five degrees thirty minutes of latitude, and one hundred and nine degrees forty minutes of longitude. When I first reached Hindūstān I found many persons still living who had been alive in the time of Akbar; among others one of the sons of the King of Taṭṭhah, who became a great friend of mine. The poor man was blind, Akbar having deprived him of sight with a red-hot iron. This was for fear that he might flee, and once more make himself master of his father's realm; for at that time, as a young man, he seemed of a very enterprising and restless disposition.

Bhakkar.

In this province is made much white and coloured cloth; the soil is fertile, and the grain produced is excellent. The inhabitants are, speaking generally, very miserable and very poor [57]. The greater part of them live by dealing in the products of their cattle. A garrison is kept there of two thousand horsemen, and the capital town is situated at twenty-eight degrees thirty minutes of latitude, and one hundred and twelve degrees twenty-five minutes of longitude.

Ūrīssah.

This province lies among the lands of very powerful and redoubtable Hindū princes; much fine white cloth is made there. The land produces much rice. It is in this province that stands the pagoda called Jagrenat (Jagarnāth). The chief town is situated at twenty degrees twenty-five minutes of latitude, and one hundred and twenty-five degrees twenty-five minutes of longitude.

Kashmīr.

In the province of Kashmīr much fine linen[1] cloth is made, of which a great deal is used by the nobles, for this cloth is very convenient and very healthy in cold weather. They make many beds, ink-boxes, trays, boxes, spoons, *et cetera*, out of wood, both in plain and carved work. Fruit is plentiful, just as in Kābul; the inhabitants are fair and with fine features. As for their disposition, I believe them to be descended from the Jews, seeing the way they act. The Moguls keep there four thousand horse as a garrison; and the chief town is at thirty-six degrees forty minutes of latitude, and one hundred and twenty of longitude.

Illavas (Allahābād).

At the capital of this province no cloth is made; nothing but dishes of different colours, and not very durable. At the town of Benares and others dependent upon it are made many stuffs of silk, cloth of gold and of silver, turbans, waist-belts, and goods suited to women's use. Eight thousand horsemen are kept there, most of whom are usually in the field, for the peasantry of this region are much inclined to rebellion. Many vegetables and cereals are grown here. The chief town lies at twenty-nine degrees twenty minutes of latitude, and one hundred and twenty-nine degrees fifteen minutes of longitude. In the first year of Aurangzeb's reign the water in the two rivers there (Allahābād) rose to such a height that almost the whole town was under water, and many people were drowned; the fortress alone escaped the inundation.

Aurangābād.

In this province much white cloth and silk stuffs are produced. Aurangzeb founded the chief town as a memorial to himself when he was only a prince. Formerly a strong garrison of cavalry was kept there, because it was on the Bījāpur and Gulkandah frontiers, and near the territory of Shivā Jī. But nowadays there are only a few men, as the rest

[1] Surely *lin* (linen) must be a mistake for *laine* (wool). The woollen products of Kashmīr are celebrated.

are engaged in the war against Shivā Jī [*i.e.*, the Mahrattahs]. Aurangābād is at nineteen degrees twenty-five minutes of latitude, and one hundred and twenty degrees twenty-five minutes of longitude.

Barār.

The soil of the Barār province is productive in cereals. Corn and vegetables are found there in abundance, as is also the poppy, the plant from which opium is made. There is a great quantity of sugar-cane. A garrison of seven thousand horsemen is maintained; and the chief town [58] lies at twenty-three degrees of latitude, and one hundred and twenty-five degrees forty minutes of longitude.

Burhānpur, or Khāndesh.

In this province they make much very fine white and coloured cloth, also printed cloth, which are exported in quantities by Persian and Armenian merchants to Persia, Arabia, and Turkey. The soil is productive in grain. The garrison kept there is one of six thousand horse; the chief town lies at twenty-three degrees of latitude, and one hundred and twenty-three degrees thirty minutes of longitude.

Baglānah.

They weave in this province much coarse white cloth, but little of fine quality. Much grain grows in it. It has a garrison of five thousand men. The chief town is at nineteen degrees of latitude, and one hundred and eighteen of longitude.

Nande (? Nānder).

In this province also much white cloth is made. The soil is fertile in cereals. The garrison consists of six thousand horse; and the chief town lies at twenty-seven degrees of latitude, and one hundred and four degrees twenty minutes of longitude.

Ḍhākah.

Ḍhākah is the largest town in, and the capital of the province of Bengal. It is in this vast region that they produce the

prodigious quantity of fine white cloth and silken stuffs of which the nations of Europe and elsewhere transport annually several shiploads. This town has under its rule many adjacent countries, as far as Goaty (Gauhātī) and the fortress of Azo (Hājo), near to Achami (Assam) and to Chatigan (Chāṭgāṅw), which are on the frontier of the Racan (Arakan) kingdom. Owing to the proximity of these countries, a garrison of forty thousand horse is maintained. Ḍhākah is at twenty-three degrees thirty minutes of latitude, and one hundred and thirty-three degrees forty minutes of longitude.

Ujjain.

This province produces nothing but grain and salt. It is here that resides one of the principal generals with a garrison of ten thousand horse. Sometimes a prince of the blood occupies this post, because this country is situated in the midst of the territories of strong and powerful rajahs. The town of the same name is very ancient, and it was once the seat of a Hindū rajah's court, and is an important holy place. It remains a place of pilgrimage until this day, although almost in ruins. It lies at twenty-eight degrees twenty-five minutes of latitude, and one hundred and twenty-two degrees thirty minutes of longitude.

Rājmaḥal.

It was in this province that the prince Shāh Shujā', second son of the king Shāhjahān, dwelt. They make much fine cloth, and a great quantity of rice is harvested. The garrison is of four thousand horse. The name Rāj-maḥal means 'Rajah's Palace.' The chief town lies at twenty-four degrees twenty minutes of latitude, and one hundred and thirty-two of longitude.

Bījāpur.

This province is at present the theatre of the war waged by Aurangzeb against Shivā Jī [*i.e.*, the Mahrattahs]. Aurangzeb has fixed his abode within it in the dread that Shivā Jī might otherwise render himself master of it. The chief town is at seventeen degrees twenty-five minutes of latitude, and one hundred [59] and eighteen degrees fifty minutes of longitude.

Gulkandah.

In this province are the diamond mines. A quantity of printed cloth is made, and these goods are the best to be found in India. They also make a great deal of white cloth, coarse and fine. Iron is abundant. The garrison kept there is of about twenty thousand horse, although the king pays for sixty thousand, since the Karnātik has been annexed. But the officers make a profit out of the difference, and embezzle without any fear. The capital of the province lies at nineteen degrees forty minutes of latitude, and at one hundred and twenty-four degrees forty minutes of longitude.

Money is coined in every one of the provinces spoken of above.

In Gulkandah, of which I have just been speaking, is a district called Bezoar[1] (? Baizwāḍā), near the country of Chāndā. In that part goats are very numerous, and in them grow the *bezoar* stones. It is from this place that the stones take their name. It is found that these stones grow in the small intestines of the goat, and the goat-herds who tend them are aware of how many there are in each goat, and the weight of each.

As for the latitudes and longitudes of the above places, as recorded by me, they are founded on the calculations and estimates of the astronomers in this country. They have a great reputation for strict exactness.[2]

The king and the princes keep officials in every one of these provinces, whose business it is to put in hand the best goods that can be fabricated in each place. With this object in view, they keep an eye continually upon what is being done in that respect. Usually the viceroys and governors are in a constant

[1] Probably the place meant is Baizwāḍā, now in the Masulipatam district of the Madras Presidency (Thornton, 'Gazetteer,' 101), lat. 16° 31′, long. 80° 41′, twenty miles north-east of Guntūr, and now a railway junction. Chāndā is some 230 miles or more to the north of Baizwāḍā. As to the bezoar stones, see *ante*, Part I., 33, and Yule, 90, second edition. Manucci's etymology is very far out, as Yule refers the word to the Arabic form of the Persian *pā-zahr*, an antidote to poison.

[2] These do not accord with the statements in the 'Ā,īn-i-Akbarī' (Jarrett), iii. 46-105, and I do not know on what data they are founded.

state of quarrel with the Hindū princes and *zamīndārs*—with some because they wish to seize their lands; with others, to force them to pay more revenue than is customary.

It now remains to say something of what grows in the territories of the Hindū princes. In the country of the King Rānā there is much grain, many *papoles* (? *papāya*),[1] which is a certain fruit of India, poppy plants from which opium is obtained, ginger, and Indian saffron[2] (turmeric), which is a kind of small yellow root. The Rānā owns several copper mines, and in his country are manufactured several kinds of coarse printed cloth.

The lands of the Rāṭhor, who rules nine districts, are for the most part all sand; they have little or no water. The wells in some places are so deep that the water is drawn with the help of oxen. When water is to be drawn, those who set these animals to work beat a drum as a warning that the pot is at the mouth of the well, and they are about to draw water. The cereals grown in this country come up by help of the rain only. There are a great many camels and dromedaries without [long] hair.

In the lands of the other rajahs there grow the same crops as stated above. There is much iron, which is used for swords, lances, and other weapons. With respect to the weapons of this country, there once happened a comical adventure to King Shāhjahān. This prince said one day to Rajah Chattar Sāl Rāe that he should like to pay him a visit in his country. The rajah replied that the very next day he would show him all he wanted to see. Next morning at sunrise [60] Chattar Sāl Rāe brought out a division of cavalry twenty thousand strong, all provided with swords and holding their lances in their hands. He posted them before the royal palace on the river bank. Then he set round them a number of infantry, also with spears. On beholding this array the king seemed astonished.

[1] Perhaps *papole* is a copyist's error for *papote*, and the thing meant may be *papoṭan* or *popṭā*, a kind of winter cherry, *Physalis angulata* (Platts, 223, 276); or *pāpṛa*, *Gardinia latifolia*, also a name for the plantain, *Musa paradisiaca*, and the fruit of the *ḍhāk*-tree (*ibid.*, 213); or *pippalī*, long pepper (*ibid.*, 223).

[2] 'Indian saffron' is *haldī*, or turmeric (Yule, 780).

XXIV. Rājah Jai Singh (Mirzā Rājah), Kachhwāhah, of Āmber.

To face page 432.

Then the rajah spoke. He said to the prince: 'Sire, by this spectacle your Majesty is absolved from going any farther to inspect my country, for I can assure you that it is all exactly what you have under your eyes.' The king concealed the vexation caused him by such a compliment, and then retorted that he knew very well that he was a loyal vassal, whose valour would be useful against his enemies. Afterwards he gave him a set of robes (*sarāpā*), with some horses, and sent him back to his own country. He was sent for again when Aurangzeb and Murād Bakhsh came against Prince Dārā, and there he lost his life, as I have stated in my First Part (I. 191).

[Here follows a statement of the chief Hindū rajahs and princes to be found in Hindūstān, who are vassals of the Mogul. There are eighty-four of them, and they dwell between the Indus or the Ganges, as far as Allahābād and the Narbadā river. These lands are called Hindūstān—that is, 'Hindūdom.']

The most powerful rajahs are three in number:

1. The first is the rajah Rānā, a word which means 'Graceful Carriage.'[1] All his descendants bear the same name, and he calls himself son of him who was saved from the Deluge (? Noah). He is lord of the town of Udepur, and his tribe call themselves Sedussjé (Sisodiyah). He is the sovereign lord of a large country, which yields him a great revenue. He has always ready for the field fifty thousand horse and two hundred thousand infantry, all of his own race. If he wanted to enlist more he could do so; all the more easily that he is extremely powerful and wealthy. He moves under the shelter of an umbrella, an honour conceded to no one but the Mogul king.

2. The second is called Rāṭhor. He rules over nine districts called Nacott Marvar (Nau-koṭ Mārwār kā).[2] The capital of the country is called Judarpur (Jodhpur). These districts were formerly governed by Rajah Jaswant Singh, which is the name of a lion. I have spoken of him several times in

[1] Manucci is confounding *ra'nah* (Arabic), 'beautiful,' and *rānā*, from the Sanskrit, the title of a Hindū prince.

[2] Tod's 'Nine Castles of Mārū' ('Rājasthan,' ii. 39 note); the subdivisions of the Mārwār State.

my History. This rajah can put into the field as powerful an army as the Rānā's, and all of his own race. The descendants of Rajah Jaswant Singh are the present rulers of the country.

3. The third is called Chaqué (? Kachhwāhah); his capital town is called Amber. This country was formerly ruled over by Rajah Jai Singh, a name meaning 'Lion's Victory.' He was of great use to Aurangzeb, and as payment for his services that monarch caused him to be poisoned. His descendants have done good work against the peasants of Āgrah and Mathurā, as may be seen in my Second Part (II. 252). This prince or rajah [61], can produce for a campaign forty thousand horse and one hundred and fifty thousand infantry, all of the the same race.

Besides the above three there are other thirty smaller and less powerful rajahs. Of these, the first is Rajah Quaran (Karan),[1] and this is also the name of his race; the word means 'liberal.' I have spoken of him already (II. 14). He has an army of twenty-five thousand horse and eighty thousand infantry, all of one race.

The second is of the Ara (Hāḍā) race; one of their princes died in the battle fought by prince Dārā against Aurangzeb and Murād Bakhsh near the Chambal river on the fourth June, 1656 [correctly 1658]. His name was Chatar Sāl Rāe—that is, 'Beauty of the Umbrella.'[2] He is master of twenty thousand horse and fifty thousand infantry, all of one race.

The third is the Rajah of Bomdela (Bundelah). This race is much given to robbery and rebellion. One of these princes revolted against Shāhjahān, and allowed a passage through his country to Prince Aurangzeb when marching against Prince Dārā. He was beheaded the very day of the battle, as I have stated in my First Part (I. 186). It was the son of this rajah

[1] Rāo Karan, Bhūrtiyah, of Bīkāner ('M.-ul-U.,' ii. 287); he died 1077 H. (1666-67). The state is an offshoot from Mārwār. The word is mistaken for *karam* (Arabic), 'generosity,' 'liberality.'

[2] Here again there is confusion, the termination not being *ārā* (Persian), the root of *ārāstan*, 'to adorn,' but *Rāe*, a Hindū title, derived from the Sanskrit. For Rāo Sattar (or Chattar) Sāl, Hāḍā, see 'M.-ul-U.,' ii. 260. An anecdote of him was given a page or two back.

just spoken of who came to seek me out at San Thome to ask me to cure him of a disease he had (II. 235). His name was Dalpat Rāo[1]—that is, 'The Honourable Army.' He is at the head of fifteen thousand horse and of much infantry.

The fourth is Rotella (Rāūtelā). The prince of this country was called Rām Singh,[2] Rotella (Rāūtelā), and his name means 'God's Lion.' He died of an arrow wound inflicted by Prince Murād Bakhsh in the battle against Dārā on the fourth June, 1656 (1658), as I stated in my First Part (I. 191). The tribe can place in the field as many as twenty-five thousand horse and seventy thousand infantry, all of one race.

There are some twenty-seven rajahs of about the same strength as the last-mentioned, and I proceed to note some of the races they govern, some of them bearing also the same name. The greater number are in the service of the king, where they draw good honourable pay, equal to that of the Mahomedan generals and captains.

NAMES OF THE [HINDŪ] TRIBES.

Chevan (*Chohān*), Pavar (*Puṇwār*), Badorie (*Bhādauriyah*), Bandare (? *Bandhalgotī*), Rambanci (*Rām-bansī*), Bach Gor (*Bachhgaur*), Botia (*Bhūrtiyah*), Chandrahot (*Chandrāwat*), Chasfadele (? *Chandel*), Benofal (*Banāphir*), Solancy (*Solankhī*), Saran Brancy (*Sūrajbansī*), Sumbanci (*Sombansī*,) Jodo Bansy (*Jādūbansī*), Metuvar.[3] All these names are Hindū. The other rajahs' states, which remain unmentioned, are somewhat

[1] Manucci has already (I. 186) called him Champat. If the son was really Dalpat Rāo, Bundelah (Rajah of Datiyā), then his father was Subhkaran of Datiyā, and not Champat, Bundelah, of the Dangiyā Rāj. But see note to Part I., 186.

[2] This must be Rām Singh, Rāṭhor, son of Kurmsī ('Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' ii. 266), who was killed at Samūgaṛh. I cannot find 'Rāūtelā' as a subdivision of the Rāṭhors in Tod's list ('Rājasthan,' i. 83, reprint of 1894). As Mr. Crooke suggests to me, the form seems to have in it a slight indication of inferiority or bastardy. Perhaps the proper form is Rāwat-ela, the 'Rāwat' branch or division.

[3] Mr. Crooke has been kind enough to look over this list, and he suggests 'Chandel' as a solution for 'Chasfadele'; 'Bandhalgotī' is the only name approaching at all to 'Bandare'; for 'Metuvar' I can find no equivalent. If it be a South Indian name, Mr. R. W. Frazer suggests it is either *meda-wār* (Tamil), 'hill people,' or *meṭi-wār*, 'noble people.'

less powerful than these, and the other fifty are even less so than these last.

Three of these rajahs became Mahomedans owing to the great promises made to them by Aurangzeb. But after they had been circumcised he seized their territories, and has given them the title of 'noble' in his kingdom; but with it he leaves [62] them very little to live upon. All that he has given them is some offices in his household. To one he gave the superintendence of the store-house (*Almazem*)—that is, the man who supervises the making of carpets for use in the royal household. Another he has placed over the goldsmiths and enamellers, who work at jewellery for the royal palace. The last received the appointment of charge over the perfumes and essences. This last man was a great friend of mine, and in secret was a drinker of wine. I have often heard his complaints, repenting of what he had done, saying he had turned himself into one of the king's slaves.

These three are not given any power by the king for fear that they might recant and return to Hindūism, and raise a revolt against the crown. This is what happened to Fidā,e Khān when he was governor of Allahābād.[1] He deceived a rajah by promises of making him a greater man than before. But when he was in his power, he kept him a prisoner and carried him away to the city of Lāhor, and there forced him to become a Mahomedan, ordering him to receive weekly one hundred strokes with a whip. The rajah, unable to stand this torture, fell ill, and I treated him for the illness and cured him without any charge. Afterwards I lent him one hundred and ten rupees, which he employed in his journey. For immediately afterwards he took to flight and sought shelter in his own country, and returned to Hindūism. Then he began incursions upon the king's territory, and plundered as much as he could. He was, however, ungrateful so far as I was concerned, for he never recalled to mind the good turn I had done him.

[1] I do not find that Fidā,e Khān (A'zam Khān, Kokah) ever served as Governor of Allahābād. Lāhor must be intended, as it is mentioned a line or two afterwards.

Usually these rajahs have such names as the following:

Quesor Sing	Kesar Singh	Yellow Lion
Bau Sing	Bhāo Singh	Wishing to be a Lion
Gueret Sing	Kīrat Singh	Lion's Beauty
Guesen Sing	Kishan Singh	Black Lion
Bessen Sing	Bishan Singh	Lion's Whelp
Bim Sing	Bhīm Singh	Lion's Strength
Caliam Sing	Kaliyān Singh	Lively Lion
Dal Sing	Dal Singh	Lion's Army
Sajan Sing	Sujān Singh	Experienced Lion
Bam Sing	Rām Singh	God's Lion
Dalian Sing	Daliyān Singh	Adverse to Lions

The others call themselves the lions of different idols. On the whole, it may be said of these rajahs that they are modest men and religious, keepers of their word; in that being very different from the Mahomedans [63], who treat as a joke the deception of other men in every possible way.

The greater number of these rajahs dwell in the plains, where their lands bring them in many sorts of supplies. The land is cultivated by their vassals or subjects, who are called Rājpūts—that is, 'rajah's son.' They have no other occupation, knowing nothing but how to till the soil or take a part in warfare. For this reason the rajahs pay them only in land, which is given for them to cultivate as a means of subsistence, on condition that they keep horses and be ready to go out to fight when they are called upon. When they have assembled, the rajah joins them; then, at the end of a twelvemonth, fresh men arrive from their home country, and the first levy returns home. They all conduct themselves in one manner. They all eat opium, and on the day of battle they swallow a double dose. They also give some to their horses to enable them to endure fatigue. They dress in yellow, dyeing their clothes that colour with saffron. Many of them wear gold armlets, so that, if killed, those finding the body may see to its cremation. The greater number are spearmen.

When they draw near to the enemy, their musicians begin to sing songs in a loud voice, with a violin accompaniment, in praise of their courage. These musicians are also on horseback and well armed, all drunk with opium, their eyes flaming

and red. In place of saying that they will slay, they say *Me mariche*—that is, 'We mean to die.' Then, grasping their lances firmly, they throw themselves on the enemy like madmen. If by mischance the spear is broken, they draw the *cattane* (? *kaṭṭārī*, or dagger), and blindly cut and stab at all they meet and never retreat, so that they either conquer or lose their lives.

I have sometimes seen some of them so impatient that, on hearing the violins strike up, though the enemy was still far off, they rode out of their squadron, and, putting their horses to their full speed, galloped like madmen into the middle of the foemen, and there sacrificed their lives. When they till the ground they always hold their spear; and in the midst of the fields they are never without sword, shield, and dagger at their side. Thus equipped, they lay hold of their plough and urge on their oxen.

There are other rajahs who live in mountains to the north, about one hundred leagues or so distant from the cities of Lāhor and Dihlī. These mountains are on the boundaries of China, and in this expanse of country there are many rajahs, and the lands of some of them adjoin the Mogul realm and even pay him tribute. The chief of them is the Rajah of Serinaguey (Srīnagar in Gaṛhwāl), although he pays no tribute, because his country is so strong and inaccessible. This is the man who cut off the noses of Shāhjahān's army (I. 147), and gave shelter to the prince Sulṭān Sulaimān Shukoh, as told in my First Part (I. 277).

Near Kashmīr there are several other rajahs, of whom some also pay tribute; but frequently they refuse to obey, for which reason war is made against them. One of them is Rajah Rūp[1] —that is, 'good-looking.' He is at the head of twelve thousand cavalry and eighty thousand infantry. All the same, I call him a traitor and a thief for having broken his promise to Prince Dārā, and carrying off a large sum of money given him to collect soldiers against Aurangzeb, as may be seen in my First Part (I. 210). In one of the mountains, the nearest to Dihlī, one of these rajahs pays one hundred and fifty rupees of

[1] Sarūp Singh in I. 210, and this seems correct.

tribute, besides some boat-loads of ice that he sends down by the Jamnah river during the hot season. This rajah asked Aurangzeb to exempt him from this money tribute, when he would undertake to send him every year enough ice for the whole city of Dihlī, if he were empowered to sell it. But the king refused his consent for three reasons. The first was that much coin would be exported from his court, for everybody would buy. The second was that the rajah would become wealthy. The third was that he did not want anyone to use ice, except those to whom he should deign to accord such a favour.[1]

When travelling from Dihlī towards Lāhor these high mountains are visible, all covered with snow throughout the year. Ice also is brought down from the hills nearest Lāhor; it is brought to the governor by way of tribute, and comes down the river Rāvī. The mountains begin in Pegū and are found as far as Kashmīr, and thence to the river Indus, to Kābul, Balkh, and Tartary. The inhabitants of these mountains are[2] of an almost white complexion, eyes and nose small, and their speech different from that of the Mogul country and much similar to Chinese.

In these mountain ranges, twenty-four days' journey from the city of Paṭnah, is an absolute king called Botand (? Bhutān). He has in his territories much gold, perfect musk, rubies, and precious stones. For this merchandise some traders travel there, but they are few, for there are great hindrances from the many petty rajahs. They suspect the traders to be Mogul spies. When they reach their destination they pay the rajah a visit, making him a present of some small rarity, such as a bottle of rose-water, or a piece of fine cloth, or a morsel of sandal-wood, or other similar article, with which he is contented. The travellers are then given great liberty, without any fear of robbers. The soil produces good food-supplies

[1] The Rajah intended is the ruler of Nāhan or Sirmūr, in the outer hills, who still in the eighteenth century retained the nickname of Barfī Rājah, or "Snow King,' owing to his sending ice to the Dihlī court.

[2] Page 65 of the text is blank, and on page 66 the unfinished sentence is completed, but in Portuguese instead of French. The text now is in Portuguese again.

and delicious fruits, all cheap. Strangers are allowed to keep women in their houses, who act as slaves, and they may employ them as they please, without anyone interfering. When any foreigner dies the rajah seizes everything, and passes whatever order comes into his head. Some of the bodies he causes to be buried, others to be burnt, others to be cut into pieces. These last are thrown out into the open country as food for the birds of prey, or they are sent to the fields as sustenance for the serpents (*boes*), foxes, and wild beasts. Others will be thrown into the rivers, cut into pieces, as food for the fish.

Such is the custom of that country, where the priests are much venerated. If these men desire to favour anyone with the gift of a holy relic, they give him some of their own excrement. The recipients carry it with them hanging from the neck, placed in a little box of gold and silver in which it is preserved. It is their fond imagination that if they die with such filth hanging from their neck they will acquire salvation.

It is through this country that lies the route to China, but it is a very long way, and the roads most hazardous from the great mountains and many rivers. I state this on information given me by some Armenians and others who had been there, including two Jesuits, who came from China by this road. One was a Fleming and the other a German, with whom I had many a talk about this country.

These rajahs [*i.e.*, the Rājpūts] are powerful and brave; they preserve all ancient customs, are friendly to those who were their father's friends, inimical to those who were their enemies, and although they are necessitous, none the less they do not refrain from observing the rules of their ancestors. The Mogul draws his profit from their barbarous ways, and out of policy reinforces them when it suits him, and employs them to destroy each other. If they were only united among themselves, the Rānā and the Rāṭhors, Kachhwāhahs and Bundelahs, they could easily expel the Mogul from Hindūstān. As an example of what I have just said, there is the case of Rajah Jai Singh, whom a Rājpūt soldier tried to kill by a spear-thrust, but missed him, all but a graze on the side. This Rājpūt was a

soldier sent by the Rajah of the Botia (Bhūrtiyah) race,[1] whose ancestors were at enmity with those of Jai Singh, and the feud had lasted for five hundred years. On the seizure of the soldier, he confessed what I have just recorded. Thus let the reader reflect on the way these Hindūs keep up their ancient customs, but still more their religion.

Having set forth all this grandeur and power of the Moguls, I will, with the reader's permission, assert from what I have seen and tested, that to sweep it entirely away and occupy the whole empire, nothing is required beyond a corps of thirty thousand trusty European soldiers, led by competent commanders, who would thereby easily acquire the glory of great conquerers.

To add to the reader's information, I will also state the length and breadth of this empire. The roads are not direct, owing to the forests and mountains and the interposition of territories belonging to the different rajahs and *zamīndārs*,[2] who allow no travellers to pass through, out of the fear they have of the Mogul. Nor are the roads there secure, for you would be robbed if you went by them. I will indicate the open and frequented roads, beginning with the east and ending on the west.

From the port [67] of Madrasta (Madras) to Gulkandah the distance is two hundred and sixteen *kos*—that is, leagues; from Gulkandah to Oramgabad (Aurangābād) it is one hundred and sixty-eight leagues; from Aurangābād to Brampur (Burhānpur) it is seventy-two leagues; from Burhānpur to Serong (Sironj) it is one hundred and forty-four leagues; from Sironj to Āgrah it is one hundred and forty-four leagues; from Āgrah to Dihlī it is seventy-six leagues; from Dihlī to the town of Sorend (Sihrind) it is eighty-four leagues; from Sihrind to the city of Lāhor it is one hundred and four leagues; from Lāhor to Little Gujarāt it is thirty-six leagues; from Little Gujarāt to the Indus river it is one hundred and thirty-six leagues; from

[1] The Bhūrtiyah Rājpūts, a clan of the Solankī race, are Rajahs of Bīkāner.

[2] Here and elsewhere (see, for instance, III. 68) Manucci uses the word *zamīndār* in its then usual sense of a petty, semi-independent chief. The great Rajahs, even, were called *zamīndārs* by the Mogul officials.

the river Indus to the city of Paxor (Peshāwar) it is thirty-six leagues; from Peshāwar to Kābul it is one hundred and forty-four leagues; from Kābul to Cazenj (Ghaznī), now in ruins, it is seventy-two leagues. At a distance of twenty leagues from Ghaznī is the boundary of Qandahār, which belongs to the King of Persia. Here on this side end the dominions of the Mogul, and on the north side they touch the kingdom of the Usbeques (Uzbak). From this point as far as Ugullim (Hūglī), which is in Bengal, there will be about the same number of leagues [? as from Madras], excluding the lands which adjoin the Axames (Ashām, Assam).

The width, beginning from Sūrat, which is on the south, until you reach the town of Burhānpur, is one hundred and sixty-eight leagues; from Burhānpur to Āgrah it is two hundred and eighty-eight leagues; from Āgrah towards the north, up to the boundary of the hill rajahs, of whom I have spoken, there may be one hundred and twenty leagues; from the town of Tata (Taṭṭah), which is on the south, as far as Multān, there are two hundred and seventy-eight leagues; from Multān to Lāhor it is one hundred and seventy-eight leagues; from Multān to Lāhor it is one hundred and forty-four leagues; from Lāhor to the mountains of Kashmīr it is one hundred and sixty leagues. The reader must remember that the *kos* or leagues of the Mogul country are different from the leagues of Europe, for ten European leagues make twelve of India, and this is the traveller's ordinary day's journey.[1]

Besides the above rajahs, I have not spoken of those on the farther side of the river Ganges, which is joined by the river Jamnah below the fortress of Allahābād, as stated in my Second Part (II. 58). A considerable number of these rajahs are powerful, and of the smaller sort there are many; most of them are vassals of the Mogul. These last are under obligation to send to court the rarities produced in their country. Some send *gavioens* (sparrow-hawks), falcons, and other birds of prey, pretty birds, honey, and wax. With the last article they pre-

[1] If 1 league equals 3 miles, and 10 European leagues equal 12 Indian *kos*, then 12 *kos* equal 30 miles, or 1 *kos* equals 2½ miles. Yule, 261, estimates Akbar's *kos* at 2 miles 4 furlongs 158 yards.

pare a waxed cloth for the lining of tents and other uses in the royal household. They also make of it candles for the harem; in these is mixed verdigris or vitriol, for certain reasons which I cannot mention. Other rajahs send fruits such as grow in their country, slaves (*viloens*), tigers, *et cetera*.

Aurangzeb, as proof of his justness and to advertise his good deeds, sends out every day to walk through the principal square a fierce lion in the company of a goat that has been brought up alongside it from birth. This is to show that his decisions are just and equal, without any bias.[1] This is done at court solely that the world may be notified of his justice. But I say, having experienced it, that at this day neither at court nor in any other part of his empire is there any justice; no one thinks of anything but how to plunder. Nor can the king find any remedy.

Although he prides himself on his high sagacity and perfection in every point, Ja'far Khān did not fail to give him once a good lesson, just to let him understand how defective was his policy. I say that the Mīr Bakhshī, Roalacan (Rūḥ-ullah Khān),[2] general of cavalry, who is inferior in rank to the *vizil* (*wazīr*), one day, when presenting a petition to the king, advanced too near and took the position assigned to the *wazīr*. The king made no remark. Noticing this, Ja'far Khān dissembled for that day. When next he came to court he placed one foot farther forward than was allowed by the regulations. On seeing this, the king said to him it appeared he was oblivious of the general customs and regulations [68], having put himself in advance of the customary position. Ja'far Khān made the wise reply that *wazīrs* held the first place, and to show the difference between himself and the Mīr Bakhshī he was forced to step more forward. The king recognised the error he had made, and instead of reproving the general he made excuses to

[1] The allusion is to the usual laudatory phrase still used in reference to a just ruler:

'Bheṛ bakrī ek ghāṭ pānī pīweṇ'
(Wolf and goat drink water together).

[2] Rūḥullah Khān, second son of Khalīlullah Khān ('Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' ii. 309). He was made second Bakhshī in the twenty-fourth year (1680-81), and died in 1103 H. (1691-92).

his *wazīr*, saying it should not recur, and the petition made to him was granted. Thus was Ja'far Khān still more respected at the court.

All of these men spoken of above [the rajahs] maintain at the court their own agents, provided with considerable sums of money, and these men assist their employers whenever it is found necessary.

There are also in this empire other lords who call themselves *zamīndārs*—that is, 'lords of land.' Among them are many powerful men who could place in the field, more or less, forty thousand soldiers, matchlockmen, archers, and spearmen. Such men do not maintain cavalry: the greater number live in the midst of jungles, and these usually pay no revenue, unless it be taken by force of arms. At this day, taking the whole Mogul empire, these rajahs, great and petty, and the *zamīndārs*, exceed five thousand in number.

The reader should note that in the kingdoms of Bījāpur and Gulkandah, of which Aurangzeb has now made himself master, there are two Karnātik provinces. In that of Bījāpur there still survive some Hindū principalities. Those which lie on the shores of the sea near Cape Comoj (Comorin) and Ceilaõ (Ceylon) do not pay the Mogul any revenue. Besides these, there is the kingdom of Chetrepalj (Chhattrapatī)[1] and the Rajah of Taniaur (Tānjor),[1] who pays six millions of rupees every year. Up to the present time the Mogul has not conquered them, owing to his wars with Shivā Jī [*i.e.*, the Mahrattahs]. If Aurangzeb lives a few years longer he will overcome all of them; it is his practice to denude them slowly of their wealth, then of their territory, finally of their life. Yet, with this experience, they do not preserve union so as to resist the Mogul strength.

In the Karnātik subordinate to the kingdom of Gulkandah

[1] For 'Chetrepalj' I propose to read 'Chhattrapatī,' 'Lord of the Umbrella'; but what potentate is intended I do not know. It may possibly be for 'Setupatī,' 'Lord of the Bridge,' an epithet of the Marava ruler of Rāmnād, close to Rāmeshwaram. Tānjor (now a British district) lies between lat. 9° 50′ and 11° 25′ N., long. 78° 55′ and 79° 55′ E. It was a Mahrattah state, founded about 1674 by Venkā Jī, younger brother of Shivā Jī ('Madras Manual of Administration,' ii. 126; iii. 876).

there are sixty fortresses, among them one called Velūr.[1] When it was in the possession of Shivā Jī, he made hence incursions into the surrounding territory, which belongs to the Mogul. This was done with the connivance of the Mogul generals, so as to prolong the period of conquest. These men wanted to become great nobles, and appropriate the wealth [of the country]. They menaced the princes and robbed the soldiers. The latter, ready to die of hunger, went over to the service of Shivā Jī, and he thereby grew more powerful.

This sort of thing is very common in the Mogul régime, as I have seen many a time, even without any understanding with the enemy. Let me give an example: Mahābat Khān[2] was carrying on a pretended war against a rajah, when one of his engineers, called Mr. Vos, a Dutchman, said to him that, if permitted, he would so arrange that in a very short time he would conquer the enemy's territory. Mahābat Khān, dissimulating, asked him if he received his pay, and whether the *pillāo* he sent daily reached him or not. He replied, 'Yes.' 'Then,' said Mahābat Khān, 'go to your tent, and when I ask for it, you can give me advice.'

The inquiring reader will be pleased by my giving him an account of the fortresses the Mogul has in his empire, pointing out some of the principal ones. The first is the fortress of Dihlī; the second, that of Āgrah; the third is Gwāliyār, where are detained the imprisoned princes, it being in the centre of the kingdom; the fourth is the fortress of Kābul, on the frontier of Persia and of Balkh; the fifth is the fortress of Daulatābād, in the Dakhin; the sixth, the fortress of Bījāpur; the seventh, the fortress of Bhāgnagar,[3] the principal place in the kingdom of Gulkandah, at a short league's distance from the city; the eighth is Rottas (Ruhtās), which is in the direction of Bengal [69].

These fortresses are commanded by selected and loyal officers, to whom the king gives a secret countersign, by

[1] Velūr (*vel*, 'acacia-tree'; *ūr*, 'village'), seventy-eight miles west of Madras ('Madras Manual of Administration,' iii. 974). Held by the Mahrattahs, 1677-1708.

[2] This must be the Gulkandah officer Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, afterwards made Mahābat Khān by 'Ālamgīr (see *ante*, II. 228, and also III. 154).

[3] Bhāgnagar, the ancient name of Ḥaidarābād, in the Dakhin.

which only they are to make the place over when superseded by his orders, as I have myself seen. The king was in Kashmīr when he sent Multafat K͟hān to supersede Osdarcan (Hoshdār K͟hān)[1] in the command of the Dihlī fortress. He was allowed to enter with two other men, and when they met he produced the *farmān*, to let him see it was a royal order. Noticing that Hoshdār K͟hān hesitated, he said to him in a passion that he must quit the fortress at once. Having said this, Multafat K͟hān took him by the right hand and separated the thumb [from the fingers]. This was the sign that the king had given him, and thereupon he made over the keys.

In the whole of Hindūstān, from Kābul to the confines of Bengal, there may be one hundred fortresses; and in the whole of the Dakhin, Bījāpur, and Gulkandah, including both the Karnātiks, there are three hundred and eighty fortresses. With the one hundred already stated there are thus four hundred and eighty. To these the king sends faithful governors. Generally they are men in his service, being princes whose fidelity has been already tested. They are Rājpūts, Sayyids, and Moguls. But Paṭhāns are never allowed to hold any of these fortresses, for fear they may plot some treason, as they did to King Humāyūn.

These governors may not leave the fortress during their term of office, nor allow any stranger to enter, save any known medical men when necessity requires. This happened to me once. When I arrived at Sūrat, the commander of the fort was ill, and sent for me. At the request of the governor of the city I went to see him. On entering the fort, they conducted me inside with my head covered, and the patient met me at the first gate. He made excuses that he had no permission from the king to allow me inside. It seems to me these orders apply to the fortresses near the sea, due to the fear they have

[1] See Part II., 60. Hoshdār K͟hān, son of Multafat K͟hān, was made Governor of Dihlī in Aurangzeb's fifth year (1662-63) ('Ma,āṣir-ul-Umarā,' iii. 944). I do not identify the Multafat K͟hān named in the text, unless it be meant that Hoshdār K͟hān was relieved by his own father in the charge of Dihlī. The only other Multafat K͟hān I can find is 'Abd-ul-Karīm (finally, Amīr K͟hān), who held the above title from the thirty-third to the forty-fifth year (*ibid.*, iii. 305, 306), but that is too late.

of Europeans. In the Mogul territory I was not treated thus, for when I was called in I entered with full liberty; and to supersede such commanders the royal *farmān* is enough.

These orders forbidding the commander of a fortress to come outside it were instituted by King Akbar, through an event that happened in his reign. On the road to Kābul, in among the mountains, is a small fortress called Colgolama (Qila'h-i-ghulāmān)—that is, 'Fort of the Slaves.' In that time the commander and the greater part of the inhabitants left the fortress to amuse themselves during the vintage. They left their houses in the charge of slaves. These men, seeing themselves masters, free from menaces and chastisement, conspired together, shut the gates, and took possession of the fortress. They paid no attention to their masters' demands. The latter assembled and attacked the gates, trying to get in. The slaves discharged cannon and muskets in a nonsensical way, without hurting anyone, for they did not know how to take aim with them. Nor did the friendly messages sent to them prevail; on the contrary, they became puffed up the more, marching to and fro on the walls wearing their masters' clothes, and making mock of them. The masters were at their wits' end what to do; but an old woman, remembering the disposition of such slaves, gave the masters good advice as to how to terrify them and make them open the gates. She said they must all do as she did. Before the day dawned all were to surround the fortress, and the old lady began to shout for them to open the gates, adding thousands of abusive words, and raising her hand, in which was a whip, threatened them. Everybody did the same. The slaves, seeing the implement with which they used to be chastised, opened the gates and threw themselves at their masters' feet, begging pardon, and alleging silly reasons, throwing the blame upon one another. After this event the place was given the name that I have stated above [70].

Verily it produces desperation to be dependent on the men and women slaves of India. In them is no goodness; they are full of malice, generally thieves, false, traitors, deniers, slothful, loquacious; incapable of secrecy, devoid of love and fidelity,

for ever complaining of their masters. Treat them tenderly as your children, and they behave the worse; and to get any work done you must act against them harshly, and make them do their duty by force. They serve you by fear of blows, and not from duty or love. Generally speaking, the free servants are just the same.

The soldiers when on the march suffer much insolence and endure many disagreeables. The masters suffer out of necessity, from which cause they exercise patience, because, should any-one try to remedy matters, the servants leave him. In the case of a soldier, he would then have to look after his own horses, camels, tents, and cooking—an impossible thing.

They tell the story in India that Āṣaf Khān, the father-in-law of Shāhjahān, a Persian by race, was seen one day dissolved in tears. Those present asked the reason of so much sorrow, when he was so rich and powerful a nobleman. He replied that his tears were due to his suffering from the many insolences that Indian servants put upon his nation. I could write much upon this subject, since I have had experience of it through many years. To come to a conclusion with these demons, I recount a case that happened in my presence to a soldier, a neighbour of mine, called Fāẓil Beg. His servants, conspiring together, gave him great trouble, doing everything the contrary way to what he wanted solely to get him into a rage, by which they would have an opening for leaving him. Fāẓil Beg penetrated their designs, but concealed it owing to his need of them, not being able to obtain others on such an emergency. It being very hot weather, he left his chest exposed, when one of the men, to make him lose his temper, came up to him, abused him greatly, and spat upon him. Fāẓil Beg seemed quite pleased, saying that it refreshed his constitution, and made out he had overlooked the impertinence, being in such a necessity.

If any of these soldiers are in any degree well served, it is because they are accompanied by a wife and some negro women, with whom the servants have intrigues, and through this attraction follow him. They are otherwise reluctant to accompany a master on a campaign, because they undergo

hunger on the road, and are interfered with by the enemy. Many a time food is worth three to four, or even eight to ten rupees a *cera* (*ser*), which is a current weight, and is of twenty-eight ounces.[1] In the campaigns against Bījāpur, Gulkandah, and Shivā Jī, one *ser* weight sold at eighteen rupees, but this did not last many days. Meanwhile the soldiers are obliged to give the servant his food, and during the actual time of the king's campaign against Shivā Jī one bullock's load of grass was worth ten rupees; and during all the wars of Aurangzeb there were high prices and plague.

In the empire is another Hindū race called *Kaet* (*Kāyath*), who are great scribes and arithmeticians, and through these arts they rule all the courts. Though they receive no high pay, they are still much cherished by the great for their good advice. These men are fond of alcohol, and make sacrifice with it to their idols. In the early morning they bathe their bodies, and almost naked, begin their prayers before the idol, near which they place their pen-and-ink box, with a bottle of the best liquor they can procure. During the ceremony, which usually lasts about an hour, they pour into the inkstand some drops of liquor with the right hand, and taking a little in the same hand, throw it upon the idol, and offer the pen-box to it, petitioning for the god's aid through it. Such-like idols are small, and generally made of metal.

In Shāhjahān's time a soldier went to draw his pay, and the official, who was a *kāyath*, could not attend to him at once, as he was busy. The angry soldier threatened him, saying he should have to smash his teeth with his sword. The official said nothing, and paid him; then, jesting, said that with his pen he could do more than he with his sword. The sharp-witted scribe, to get his revenge for the menace, wrote in the book where was entered the soldier's descriptive-roll that he had lost [71] two of his front teeth. For it is the practice in the Mogul country to write the names and personal marks of those who are employed. Some months elapsed, and the

[1] In Madras, to which I presume this description applies, there are two *ser*—the *kachā*, of 9¾ ounces; and the *pakkā*, of 2 pounds (32 ounces) ('Madras Manual of Administration,' iii. 804).

soldier appeared again for his pay. The clerk opened the book, and found by the description that he was not the man entitled to that pay, for he had two front teeth more than were recorded in the register of descriptive-rolls. The soldier was put to confusion; his protests and arguments were unavailing; and seeing no other course if he would not lose his pay and his place, he was obliged to have two front teeth extracted to agree with the record, and in that way got his pay.

Throughout the empire the king is obliged to maintain *fosdars* (*faujdārs*)—that is, 'lords of an army'—for if he had no such officers no one would pay him either revenue or tribute. For the people of India never pay without being forced, and to collect half the total quantity of supplies that they are under obligation to pay to the crown, it is necessary to tie up the principal husbandmen. These latter collect with equally severe measures from the peasants. To obtain satisfaction of the demands made, when they find soft words and reasoning are of no use, they bind the men and give them a good beating. It is the peasants' habit to go on refusing payment, asserting that they have no money. The chastisements and the instruments are very severe. They are also made to endure hunger and thirst. From time to time they pay a trifling instalment, and the punishments being renewed again and again, they begin to pay little by little, finding they are unable to endure so much torment. Many of them carry on their persons the sum that they owe, bound in various parts. When against their will they find they have to pay, they draw forth a trifle, and declare they have no more. The punishment recommences; then they feign death (as sometimes really happens), fall on the ground, turn up their eyes, and quiver with their hands and feet. But this trick secures them no compassion, for it is well known. They are bound to some tree, and once more are showered on them blows and *corolados*.[1] The latter are applied with a well-twisted rope, in shape like an ox-tail, an inch in thickness and a fathom in length. With this instrument they flog on the

[1] This is, apparently, a newly-coined word, equal to '*koṛā*-lashings'; from *koṛā*, a whip, or scourge (Platts, 861).

ribs with all their strength, and it encircles the whole body, making wheals an inch wide and breaking the skin.

In this way, little by little, the peasants pay what they owe. This habit is much honoured among husbandmen—that is, never to pay readily; and to undergo these torments and this disgrace is among them an honour. He who gets most blows and suffers the most is the most esteemed. If, perchance, the soil does not produce a crop, by reason of the rain failing, they sell their sons and their cattle to meet what they are obliged to pay. For the king takes one moiety and leaves them the other.

These *faujdārs* have to supervise the roads, and should any merchant or traveller be robbed in daylight, they are obliged to pay compensation. If robbed at night, it is the traveller's fault for not having halted earlier, and he loses all, without his complaint being heard.

In the days of Shāhjahān there was at court an ambassador of the Grand Turk, who, on seeing this great harshness, said to the king that it seemed to him that much cruelty was thus inflicted on his subjects. The king replied: 'Do not imagine that these people are like those of Turkey. If I did not deal with them thus, they would never leave me a moment's peace.'

It is quite true that if the common people here have four rupees, they are quite high and mighty and decline service. It is only when they have nothing to eat that they take service. They have no skill unless it is enforced on them by harsh treatment. It is for this reason that the Moguls call this population *zolom parest* (*zulm-parast*)—that is, 'tyranny adorers.' Sometimes these *faujdārs* commit excessive acts of oppression, which cause rebellion and bring on battles. If the villagers are defeated, everyone is killed that is met with, and their wives, sons, daughters, and cattle are carried off. The best-looking of these girls are presented to the king under the designation of rebels. Others they keep for themselves, and the rest are sold.

At this time, when Aurangzeb is reigning, they do worse still. As the aged and wealthy officers and officials die off, he has sent, and still sends, younger leaders. These, in their eagerness

to become rich, plunder and act wrongfully. They bribe the *wāqi'ah-navīs* (official reporter) and the *khufiyah-navīs* (secret intelligencer), so that the king may never hear.

In this way the people suffer, and those who are the most distant from the court suffer the most. Besides all these inflictions they have other losses, for when the soldiery passes through they plunder everything they can lay hands on—cattle, food-supplies, grass, straw; they destroy houses to get firewood, and on the villagers' heads they load their baggage, and by dint of blows force them to carry it.

To me it seems that this is GOD's chastisement, merited by their evil deeds. Never are they ready to listen to reason; they are all very troublesome, high and low, without shame, neither having the fear of GOD. The Hindūs who turn [72] Mahomedans are the worst of all; these are ordinarily the most insolent, the greatest talkers, and held in no consideration. As for Europeans who come to India, they must arm themselves with great patience and prudence, for not a soul will speak the truth to them, this being the general habit of India. Although they are deceivers, selfish, contumacious, and unworthy of belief [themselves], we are abhorred by the lower classes, who hold us to be impure, being themselves worse than pigs.

It is now forty-eight years that I have been in India, yet never have I seen a Mahomedan become a Christian. But I can say that many a Christian has pretended to be a Mahomedan, some to get pay and allowances at the court, and others in connection with women or other unruliness. I noticed that no person of seriousness fell into such an error, as is shown by what happened to a Portuguese married in the city of Dihlī. His name was Antonio de Souza Sarafana, and he had a quarrel with the rest of his countrymen. They styled him a cuckold, and aggrieved at such talk, he went to his house, and, getting his sword, barbarously slew his wife and a baby girl that was still at the breast. The negro women of the house, seeing this slaughter, jumped over the walls and fled. Some of these women, feeling aggrieved, went and laid a complaint, of which the courts took cognisance. When he was taken into custody the relations of the wife petitioned the court for his execution. The court asked the criminal if he was willing to turn Mahome-

dan; if so, he would be liberated without punishment. The Portuguese would not consent, and, firm in his purpose, went to his beheadal with courage and animation. I have seen on the Choromandal coast and in Bengal a few Malabārīs and Bengālīs, poverty-stricken Hindūs, become Christians, but it was from compulsion of hunger, or to get married to some Christian; even then they never refrained from Hindū practices.

Since I have spoken of the noted Hindū princes, I will mention also the Mahomedan tribes who are vassals and tributaries of the Mogul throughout his kingdom. The Paṭhāns might collect eighty thousand horse and much infantry. But they are scattered in different parts of the kingdom, and differ from the Paṭhāns who live beyond the river [Indus] and to the west of it, about whom the Mogul has to be very careful, for at one time they claimed the crown.

These [the Paṭhāns] for the greater part serve as soldiers; others are merchants; and they resort to no other occupations. They are very avaricious and foolhardy. When they come to court they are well-clad and well-armed, caracolling on fine horses richly caparisoned, posing as persons of some consideration, and followed by several servants borrowed or hired for the day. On reaching their house they divest themselves of all this finery, and, tying a scanty cloth round their loins and wrapping a rag round their head, they take their seat on a mat, and live on *quichire* (*kichrī*)—*i.e.*, rice and lentils—or badly-cooked cow's flesh of low quality, which is very abundant in the Mogul country and very cheap. In this manner they put by money and grow into merchants. They are very jealous about their women, are not very literate, fond of the chase and of dogs, dextrous with bows. They hate the Moguls so much that they will not intermarry with them; they are extremely pretentious, each one thinking himself greater than the rest, and decline to concede to others any superiority.

In spite of these dissensions they are all of one race, descended from an ancient prince called Pastô (Pushtū).[1] He had many

[1] The 'Hai,āt-i-Afghāni,' by Hayat Khān, C.S.I. (p. 54) (translated by Henry Priestley, Bengal Civil Service; Lāhor, 1874), does not give much help. The author thinks Pushtū comes from the name of a region rather than from that of a person.

sons—I notice there were six-and-thirty of them—who divided the kingdom at his death. It lay on the farther side of the Indus, towards the west. They proclaimed these as separate principalities, their descendants taking the name of their ancestor. One calls himself Issofzaj (Yūsufzai)—that is, 'Son of Joseph'; others are Mahomedzaj (Muḥammadzai), Iszai ('Isāzai), Surina (? Suran-khel), Pane (Pannī), Massuani (? Masan-khel), Coatro (? Kator-zai), Lody (Lodī).[1] In this manner they entitle themselves after their ancient princes, and the name of Paṭhān has come down from the first prince, Pastô. Their language differs from the speech of India. They follow the Mahomedan faith, yet there is a difference in their sects, for some venerate Muḥammad, others 'Alī, others 'Usmān, and others some other disciple of the false prophet [73].

There is another race called Sahjed (Sayyid), signifying a descendant of Muḥammad. These men are venerated among Mahomedans; these, too, are scattered in different parts of the empire. Their principal seat lies forty leagues distant from the city of Dihlī, in the direction of Lāhor. The place is near the Jamnah river, where there are twelve villages called Barre (Bārhah).[2] These hold themselves to be fine soldiers, learned men, virtuous and saintly, as has been seen in my Second Part (II. 9). They can collect twelve thousand cavalry and a large number of infantry.

There are others called Seczada (Shekhzādah), who are descended from the family of Muḥammad, but very remote from the Sayyids. This race hold land, and also remain in service at the courts, great and petty; they are very subtile, of great intelligence, very litigious, and great lawyers. Others become recluses and holy men, and by that false pretence gain a living.

There is also another race called Baloche (Baloch), who dwell on the farther side of the river Rāvī, near the city of Multān, and as far as the confines of Persia. In this territory are many

[1] The doubtful names, as the nearest approximations, have been taken from Colonel J. Wolfe-Murray's 'Dictionary of the Paṭhān Tribes' (Calcutta, 1899).

[2] The country of the Bārhah Sayyids lies between Meerut and Sahāranpur; it is now in the Muzaffarnagar district.

camels, which they bring for sale into the Mogul country. Usually they are expert camel-drivers, and serve everyone in that capacity. They wear long locks of hair, and are of a dark, ruddy complexion. During the march they sing as they ride their camels. These men never look for service as soldiers at the king's court; only a few of their superior men act as governors and *faujdārs* near their own country. This race can place in the field fifteen thousand horse and much infantry. Within their own country they are good soldiers, and they prevented Prince Akbar from invading the Mogul realm at the time he was helped by Shāh 'Abbās.[1] They are of the religion of the Moguls, and without a prince.

On the other side of the Chināb river, on its northern side, and extending as far as the Indus, there is a race called Guaquer (Ghakkar). They are good soldiers, and many of them are in the king's service. They are esteemed there, and at the court grow to be great nobles. During my time one of these was Hizetcan ('Izzat Khān),[2] who was governor of the city of Taṭṭhah, where it happened that he was made prisoner and disgraced by a young lady, as will have been seen in my Second Part (II. 171). It is a tale told among the Moguls that the ancient chronicles show how Alexander the Great was given a great deal of trouble by this race when he crossed the Indus river. Their complexion is of a deep green-black; they can place in the field twelve thousand horse, and they have no prince.

There is another race called Gett (Jaṭ), who are found a hundred leagues from Lāhor, where there is much jungle. They were ruled over by the man from whom I removed the fat, as will have been seen in my Second Part (II. 161), when I was living in the city of Lāhor. They were for ever plundering the king's territory, and for this reason there is always a *faujdār* ready to give assistance in any direction. These officers sometimes come to amicable terms with them, so as to live in peace and quiet; and relying on the word of trusted friends, they meet and entertain each other.

[1] ''Abbās' is a slip of the pen for 'Sulaimān,' the former having died in 1667 some fifteen or sixteen years before Prince Akbar sought refuge in Persia.

[2] 'Izzat Khān was a Sayyid, and not a Ghakkar.

The beheaded man from whom I extracted the fat had a great friendship with a rajah *faujdār*. The latter asked him to order his spies, of whom he had some that were very clever, to show him some of their tricks; for he had heard marvellous tales about them. The order was issued. After the lapse of some days, there appeared at daybreak in front of the rajah's tent a *Jogī* penitent seated on a tiger-skin, with flowing hair, a huge beard, his arms raised on high, having long twisted nails, his body smeared over with ashes. He seemed [74] a vision, such as may be seen in the pictures of *Jogīs* or *Saniyāsīs*. These men are greatly venerated by the Hindūs.

Holding him to be a saint, the whole army of the rajah thronged to see him. Lying flat on the ground, with their arms raised aloft in sign of worship, they drew close to him and asked what he desired of all that they could offer him. There he sat with the greatest gravity, his eyes lowered and his lips completely shut. As the sun rose higher they brought him a dish of food, and wanted to feed him, just as you do an infant, seeing that his arms were useless. The man shut his mouth, and made gestures that he did not want to eat. They sought methods to persuade him, saying that they, too, would not be able to eat, and his 'animals' would have to suffer. These arguments were of no use.

Then the rajah was informed, and at once he came on foot to greet the saintly man with many signs of worship, and when quite close, crossed his hands on his breast. All this was in the full heat of the sun. The rajah prayed him to have compassion on him and his army. Should his petition not prevail, neither he nor his 'animals' could eat anything. Their idea was that they would be excommunicated if they did. The cunning cheat dissembled. Once more the rajah prayed that with his permission he might call his wives, who would cook food and give him to eat. The knave, on hearing these words, made a slight movement with the corner of his eye in sign of consent. At once the rajah sent for a tent, and caused all his women to appear. These did the *faqīr* great reverence, and in his presence prepared the food. The principal wife of the rajah as a sign of worship placed a morsel in his mouth, and he

refused to eat more. Thus all were satisfied, and when night descended the *Jogī* disappeared.

After some little time the two friends met again, and the rajah made a complaint. He said that the spies had not demonstrated their ability. Then that spy, who was standing by clad as a soldier and armed, said: 'I am the man to whom your wife gave to eat,' and told the whole of what had passed. The rajah was in astonishment, praying them another time not to play him such tricks. I might recount many similar cases; but as it seems to me, you may discover from this instance the finesse of the Indian people, and how they are able to pretend. That rebel was lord over eight thousand very active cavalry, who were great plunderers. There comes to my memory now an affair that happened in Hindūstān.

There were in the field two rajahs ready to give battle. At that time there appeared a physician, who said to one of the rajahs that he possessed a drug by which, if taken by his soldiers, he would win the battle. The rajah was persuaded, and the whole army was purged. The opposing rajah heard of this, and sent men to win over the physician by handsome presents, imagining that the victory was in his control. On arriving he purged everybody, and the same day the rival force made an attack and routed them, seeing they were all occupied with their necessities. The fugitive rajah said the medicine was good, but as his opponent had taken it first, therefore he had conquered. These Rājpūts are very easy of credence in regard to what doctors, Brahmans, or astrologers say, for they are quite illiterate.

There is another race called Battj (Bhatī),[1] who can place in the field six thousand cavalry and much infantry. They live between the town of Sihrind and Lāhor, and they enter the *faujdār's* service on small pay. Their dwellings are in the huge jungles called Laqui Janquel (Lakhī Jangal),[1] surrounded by

[1] Bhattī or Bhātī, the modern representative of the ancient Jādūbansī clan. The State of Jaisulmer belongs to them, and they are found largely in the Rāṭhor State of Bīkāner. From them the Sirsa district, including a portion of Hisar, is known as Bhatiānah. In 1881 they were about 350,000 in number (Ibbetson, 'Panjab Ethnology,' 1883, paragraph 448). The Lakhī Jungle was a well-known eighteenth-century name for that part of the country. It is marked in the map

various rivers. These men are great thieves and plunderers of the roads and villages. When the king wants to punish any officer he sends him to this region, where he suffers a great deal and gains no profit at all.

There is also another tribe called Mevattj (Mewātī). They are good horsemen, also enterprising thieves [75] and robbers. Nowadays they have no cavalry, because King Shāhjahān called upon the Rajah Jai Singh to destroy them, and said he would make him a present of the lands he conquered. He, like a brave and prudent captain, soon overcame them. They live among hills; the chief men he beheaded, disarmed the rest, and forced them to live in the open country. The son of their chief man was made a eunuch by Shāhjahān. It was he who commanded at Bhakkar, as spoken of in my First Part (I. 219, 225, 262). He was called Khwājah Basant; and he remained faithful to Prince Dārā at the fortress of Bhakkar. When I passed through this region I saw upon the hills many villages, which were not then destroyed. The greater part of this tribe lives upon robbery.

There are also two other small Hindū tribes called Myne (? Mīnah)[1] and Torj (? Bauriā),[1] who are highly renowned as great and adventurous thieves. One of them, in the very presence of Rajah Jai Singh, took off the turban of Shivā Jī when asleep; this was in the time of the war, and there was fear of losing your life. Once when I was living in Lāhor, (it was during the governorship of Fidā,e Khan) fifteen thieves of this tribe were caught. They had robbed a house at midnight; they were seized and sentenced to death. When the officers of justice were taking them to be executed in front of that very house, they passed in front of my door. There was a great noise of drums, and a great crowd of curious idlers following. Hearing this row, I came forth, and saw that the

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to Francklin's 'Shah Aulam,' 1798, bounded on the north by the Sutlaj, and on the east by a line from Ludhiānah to Sunām. The southern and western limits are less definite. The Bhatī country is immediately to the south of it.

[1] For Mīnā, see W. Crooke, 'Tribes and Castes of the North-West Provinces,' iii. 485—their home is in Mewāt; and for Bāwariya (Bauriā), *ibid.*, i. 228. Both are well-known thieving tribes to this day.

first thief was a youth of some five-and-twenty years. He went on his way in great confidence, singing in a loud voice, and giving thanks to God for that he had made his life a sacrifice in the occupation he was brought up to, without having to change his pursuits. Seeing me while still continuing his song, he bowed his head as a mark of politeness. I remarked that the last of them was a Baminy (a Banyā), whom they carried along by force, because he had been consenting to the concealment in his house of the stolen goods.

Throughout the kingdom there are many of these thieves, and in the army they find stealing very easy, carrying off horses and camels. For this reason many soldiers place iron chains on these animals' feet, fastened by padlocks to make them secure. Along with the armies there march privileged and recognised thieves, called Bederia (Bīdarī);[1] these are the first to invade the enemy's territory, where they plunder everything they find. The handsomest items are reserved for the general; the rest they sell on their own account. Prince Shāh 'Ālam, when he was within the territories of Shivā Jī, near Goa, had in his army seven thousand such, whose orders were to ravage the lands of Bardes because of my non-return, as I have stated in my Second Part (II. 220). In the bāzārs and booths of these Bīdarīs is found every kind of food-supply—vegetables, fruits, and other products, all purloined from the enemy's territory.

In these armies the foot soldiers are commonly Rājpūts, the greater number being of the Bundelah tribe or Purbiyahs from the direction of Allahābād. They are matchlockmen and archers, and also serve to look after the baggage. They are faithful to their employers, but great thieves on the march, plundering supplies of food and wood for their cooking fires. For this they are punished and bound two and two upon camels, their noses pierced by arrows, and paraded throughout the camp, so that they may be seen and terror be inspired. All the same, they continue to pilfer and are very insolent, paying respect to no one. If anyone has a dispute with one of them,

[1] These Bīdarī (from Bīdar ?), sometimes confounded with the Pindhārīs, are mentioned by Bhīm Sen in his 'Nuskhah-i-Dilkushā,' British Museum, Oriental MS., No. 23, fol. 156*b*, and by other writers.

they congregate in great numbers, and the adversary of their tribesman is severely beaten and left half dead. This I have seen many times. Some of them would be going along when, seeing some such wrangle, they would draw near to give help, and would kindly beat the disputant with their sticks; or if not able to do so owing to their opponents' numbers, would throw stones at them, give them a lot of abuse, and then resume their route [76].

It seems to me I have dwelt sufficiently on the habits and customs of this Hindūstān; but I have observed that all the great men are fond of amusing themselves with chess-playing, by which, as they say, they learn to govern, place and displace, give and take, with discretion, to the glory and gain of their projects.

I will relate a story about this game. The king Jahāngīr sent an ambassador to the King of Persia, Shāh Xaxefi (Shāh Ṣafī). His name was Cancana (Khān Khānān), a man liberal-minded and of good judgment. This man was much esteemed by the King of Persia for his good conversation and the generous actions he beheld him do. The envoy fancied he could play well this game of chess; on his part, the King of Persia thought the same. The two played together on the condition that the loser should bray like an ass. The game lasted three days, and in the end the ambassador lost it, and he was obliged to carry out his engagement. This he did with such vigour that the whole court was greatly satisfied. He began in this way: 'I left the court of my emperor at such and such a time, and I was four months on the journey, until I arrived on the frontier of Your Majesty's kingdom, and descending from the mountains of Qandahār, I came to a plain where there was nothing but one ass grazing. My servant ran to him, and as a joke said to him that the asinine race was extinct. Overcome at such sad news, he began to lift his head, and wailing, said in a loud voice: "Ay, aŷ, ay." The servant, taking compassion upon him, said that one she-ass was left for him. Thereby consoled, he said in a low voice three times: "Bom, bom, bom."' Thus did he carry out his promise, and many present while he was talking supposed that he was telling some anecdote.

This king inquired from K͟hān K͟hānān in what estimation he held him. He replied that he admitted him to be the greatest king in the world. The king retorted that by this statement he confessed him to be greater than his own king. K͟hān K͟hānān then said that there *was* a difference, for his king was GOD upon earth. This the Mogul does consider himself to be, not having any powerful king near him to prove to him the existence of greater majesty than his own.

In the year one thousand six hundred and eighty-nine there came an ambassador[1] from the Grand Seignor to ask help in money from Aurangzeb, explaining to him the danger to which his king was exposed from the armies of the Christians. Aurangzeb sent him nine lakhs of rupees, making excuses for giving no greater help. For he, too, was occupied against the infidel and rebellious Shivā Jī. The arrival of this ambassador gave an idea of the strength of the European nations; for the people of India supposed that Europeans live on islands, and that it is only on the sea they know how to fight. No effect had been produced by the accounts given them of various battles which had happened in Europe. After the coming of this ambassador they recognised that they had been told the truth on this head. Aurangzeb was forced to admit that without a doubt the strength of the Europeans was greater than that of the Turk, who is conceded to be the most powerful and most valiant king among the Mahomedans.

There now remains something to be said on the Mogul mode of government. I have already stated that the king holds public audience in the *'Ām-K͟hāṣ* (Hall of Audience), and there it is usual for aggrieved persons to appear and make complaint. Some men demand punishment for murderers, others complain of injustice and violence or other such-like wrongful acts. To show his equity, power, and greatness, the king ordains with arrogance, and in few words, that the thieves be beheaded, that the governors and *faujdārs* compensate the plundered

[1] Aḥmad Āqā, envoy of the Qaisar of Rūm, Nadar Bé, envoy from the *wālī* of Buk͟hārā, and 'Abd-ur-raḥīm Beg, sent by the Ḥākim of Kāshg͟har, were presented early in the thirty-fourth year, 1101 H. (end of 1689 or early in 1690) ('Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' p. 337).

travellers, and return to court themselves to render an account of their bad government. In some cases he announces that there is no pardon for the trangressor; in others he orders the facts to be investigated and a report made to him. To similar complaints he gives similar answers. This is merely to console, and as a proof that he is no consenting party to injustice.

I will give [77] as an example the case of some Arab merchants, who came to court to complain that on their voyage with some Arab horses from Masqāṭ to India, when about the latitude of Sūrat, some Farangī pirates had robbed them. Without another question the king ordered a letter to be sent forthwith to the governor of that port, ordering him at once to bind the Farangīs, and send them to court to be punished. By these words he did the utmost that he could do. For the governor of Sūrat was unable to seize the thieves, nor could he send them to court. It is the habit of these kings to talk like this as a demonstration that they do not recognise any other power than their own.

Usually there is some rebellion of the rajahs and *zamīndārs* going on in the Mogul kingdom. When the king is informed, he issues in public an order that the governors and *faujdārs* be written to directing that they must assemble, destroy the rebels, and send their heads to court. If their forces are insufficient, let them report it, that he may send them troops to overcome the rebels, and eject them from the kingdom. At other times he will order the rebel to be sent in alive or dead, or else the governor must send his head (such orders are very easy to give and very difficult to execute).

After all these orders have been given, he retires to the *gousal cana* (*ghusal-khānah*), the place for second audience and counsel. Here he gives other secret orders as to what is to be done. The officials control proceedings, without the king being able to inspect everything that is done, owing to his multitudinous occupations. There can be no doubt that if this king were well served many things could be done in these regions.

Ghusal-khānah means properly 'bathing-house, limpidity, or

purity.' Herein are good counsels given and excellent sentences, and thence just orders are sent forth. It is a privileged and ordered place. There are in the empire three principal imperial abodes; the most ancient is at Dihlī, the second at Agrah, the third at Lāhor. At each there is a great bastion, named the Xaaburg (Shāh-burj), which means 'Royal Bastion.' They are domed, and have architectural adornments of curious enamel work, with many precious stones. Here the king holds many audiences for selected persons, and from it he views the elephant fights and diverts himself with them.

All these palaces are full of gardens with running water, which flows in channels into reservoirs of stone, jasper, and marble. In all the rooms and halls of these palaces there are ordinarily fountains or reservoirs of the same stone of proportionate size. In the gardens of these palaces there are always flowers according to the season. There are no large fruit-trees of any sort, in order not to hinder the delight of an open view. In these palaces are seats and private rooms, some of which are in the midst of the running water. In the water are many fish for delight. Other rooms are ornamented with large mirrors, and seem to be made all of crystal.

In the royal palaces the king takes rest wherever it pleases him. In spite of his being well guarded, he still changes the place at various times for fear of any treachery. Round these palaces or cities are many royal gardens for recreation, where are grown many kinds of fruit and flowers, chiefly roses, from which are distilled essences for the royal household.

I will tell a story of what happened in one of these gardens. It was situated in front of the royal palace at Lāhor, and was called Delcuxaõ (Dil-kushā),[1] which signifies 'Open Heart.' To it went for recreation twelve officials, and in lightness of heart, drunk as they were, they sent out in search of twelve women. One by one eleven appeared, and one man was left without a lady. As the sun was setting, there appeared one

[1] 'History of Lāhor,' by Syud Mahomed Latif, 250: 'The garden of Nūr Jahān, across the Rāvi (in Jahāngīr's time called Dilāwez or Dilkushā), where exists the mausoleum of that Emperor.' The place is generally known as Shāhdarah.

at the entrance of the garden, who walked most gracefully. She was very lovely and well dressed, so that she roused envy in the whole company. Drawing near to him to whom she was allotted, who had come forward to greet her, she perceived it was her husband! [78] Vigorously hastening her pace, and with demonstrations of rage, she fell upon him, tore his clothes, beat and abused him, and said he must have lost his way out walking; the company he found himself in was not such as suited a person of gravity. She dragged him away and took him home, making him out the sinner, although she was an adulteress herself.

I noticed that when vassals are in the royal presence they feign to be timid and afraid of His Majesty. These gestures please him, they being the custom. The combats and conquests made by both ancient and modern Mogul kings, it is to be noted, have for the major part been won rather by deceit and false oaths than by force of arms. Never does the Mogul attack any stronghold or give battle unless he is secure of having some traitor to help him.

In addition to the robes of honour, the elephants, horses, arms, *et cetera*, which the Mogul confers as gifts on his vassals, as I have already said, he has also other favours for the greater men at his court or in the empire. Once every year he confers a *bārānī*[1]—that is, 'protection from the rain'; it is a cape of very fine broadcloth. The greatest honour that the king can do to one of these nobles is to marry him to some relation of the queens and princesses. Similarly, as a proof that he holds any person in high estimation, he takes off from his body his upper coat and makes the man put it on in his presence, to signify that he loves him as he does his own person.[2] In spite of all these condescensions, Aurangzeb never hesitated to take the life of Rajah Jai Singh and the others, as I have seen; and through this policy of affection he continues to destroy.

[1] This gift of a *bārānī* outfit for the rains appears, for instance, over and over again in Dānishmand Khān's 'Bahādur-Shāh-nāmah,' period 1707-10.

[2] This is the *malbūs-i-khāṣ*, 'special worn clothes,' a kind of gift of which there are many recorded instances.

For this conduct there is an ancient regulation, which they keep secret and with which they amuse themselves. In it are laid down various methods by which kings and princes ought to govern. He imparts these rules to his trusted eunuchs and others, who conduct themselves by them in regard to the court officials. Of this I will give an example which happened in the army of my prince. Atax Can (Ātash Khān), captain of a select force, had the charge of keeping order in the camp, more especially round the royal enclosure. One day he came very near to the gate of the seraglio (*maḥal*), which was in the rear of the principal gateway of the court, and wished to enforce new orders that were not usual at that place. Seeing this, the eunuchs, gatekeepers, and Kashmīrī women servants assailed him by throwing stones, pestles, mallets, shoes, tent-pegs, pots for porridge, and saucepans, dislodging him and all his soldiers. He made complaint to the prince of the affront he had received, declaring that what he had done followed the regulations of the royal court. To this the prince replied with much softness and quietude, saying that he was not well acquainted with the royal customs, according to which the men of the militia had no concern with the *maḥal* gateway, which was in the charge of the eunuchs.

In his reign Aurangzeb gave an order that every prince must come to audience only on the days he had fixed. The cause of these orders was that in one thousand six hundred and eighty (1680), at the city of Ājmer, Shāh 'Ālam was going to audience. Close to a bridge he saw the train of A'ẓam Tārā rushing in great haste in the hope of passing over first, and fully resolved on resistance if they met anyone. Shāh 'Ālam, from prudence or timidity, seized his horse's rein and drew up, placing his hand on his dagger to show his people that he was ready if attacked. He also ordered [79] his people to halt and yield free passage to his brother, A'ẓam Tārā. The latter, taking no notice of him, with much haughtiness and making his horse curvet, passed the first without paying any attention or civility to his elder brother. Owing to this the king issued the order stated above, so that there might be no outbreak at the court.

For this reason, when the king sends one prince to any province to supersede another, one goes by one route and the other issues forth by another, escorted by court mace-bearers with gold maces. Great care is taken that they do not encounter each other, in order to avoid any mishap or any fresh outbreak. This is the way he deals with these princes. It is by the respect and dread that they have one for the other that the old man has managed to go on reigning; and if God grant me life, I will record the end of Aurangzeb and the beginning of another reign.

Upon the day of the affair above referred to, Shāh 'Ālam entered his father's audience followed by so many soldiers, that the doorkeepers sought to hinder the entrance of so many men. In their efforts, involving the use of their sticks, one of them touched the shield of Shāh 'Ālam. Smiling and slowly turning his head, he ordered them to give the door-keepers five thousand rupees in proof of his own prudence and generosity, and of the respect in which he held the servants of his father.

I will give a case which occurred at Aurangzeb's court in the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-seven (1697).[1] The foster-brother of Prince Kām Bakhsh treacherously slew one of the king's eunuchs with an arrow. On hearing of this act, the king ordered the man to be seized; and when the foster-brother knew of the royal order, he appealed to the prince. The latter took him to audience in his train, they clasping each other by the hand. The prince said to the king that first his life must be sacrificed before he allowed his foster-brother to be touched. Enraged at seeing such public imprudence and wrongful attitude, Aurangzeb ordered the man to be carefully taken out of the prince's hands. On this being attempted, the prince laid hold of his dagger and menaced anyone who approached, saying that he would slay him. The plausing disciples of Aurangzeb by honeyed words and false asseverations made him sheath

[1] This incident is given in the 'Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī,' 398-400, with slightly more detail. The matter began with an attempt to murder Yāqūt, one of Kām Bakhsh's eunuchs, on the 18th Jamādā II., 1110 H. (December 22, 1698). The foster-brother was supposed to be the instigator.

his dagger and deliver up his foster-brother, supposing the latter's life to be safe. The king ordered the prince and his foster-brother to be arrested; but on the petition of Ūdepurī, his mother, they were released. In the year [one thousand and] seven hundred (1700) the king granted Kām Bakhsh the province of Gulkandah for his allowances, he remaining present at court.

As I have said that the Moguls rear pigeons for amusement (I. 65), it is necessary for me to inform the reader how they employ these pigeons to give intelligence if the king leaves his house or comes into the public hall to hold audience. Let the reader be aware, then, that these nobles are very pleased not to have to move from home uselessly. Many have their dwellings far from the royal palace, about a league away. They order their retinue to be kept in readiness, first of all having sent to court a servant with two pigeons of different colours.

If the king leaves his house or holds audience, the noble's servant releases one of these pigeons at court, and by reaching its home it serves as a messenger. If it is the one that denotes the king's leaving home or sitting in audience, the noble at once rides with his cavalcade in all haste to be present, as is his duty. If the other comes, it notifies the contrary: the retinue are dismissed, and the master takes his ease at home.

[80][1] In the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-four (1694), when Aurangzeb was in the kingdom of Bījāpur, he fell ill of diarrhœa, so that he was unable to come out to hold audience; and he became so weak that he fainted several times, from which cause it was spread about in the camp that Aurangzeb was dead. A'zam Tārā, who was there, wished to profit by the occasion; and assuming the news was true, he mounted his horse, and with all his armed force came to attack his father's enclosure. He ordered his men to surround the royal tents. He then tried with great determination to force an entrance, intending to suffocate his father in case he should not be dead. He wanted to crown himself king. But it did not fall out as he desired; for Bahādur Khān,

[1] P. 80 is an interpolated leaf, of which the other side (p. 81) is blank.

learning that he was advancing on the court, being himself nearer, came out at once with all his cavalry, and reached the spot just as A'ẓam Tārā was going into the tents. Taking him by the hand, he said that he was disobeying the royal orders by wishing to enter without being sent for by his father. With prudence, but showing himself resolute and urging good reasons, he made the prince understand that he would not be allowed to advance further. He gave him assurance that the king was not dead, and he would himself give a report to the king of his arrival to pay him a visit, and would get him called inside. This he did, and the king was found to be very weak. The prince counselled him as to the necessity of showing his royal person to pacify the army, which had begun a mutiny. Thus the king coming forth for a moment or two, the music played as a signal he was holding audience. This allayed the uproar going on throughout the camp, robbery, murder, and revolt having already begun. After this affair, Aurangzeb ordered this prince to pitch his camp at a distance of some leagues, and up to this day the same practice is maintained.

[P. 81 is blank.]

[79 concluded] It is necessary for the reader to be aware that these Moguls, admitting that they profess the Mahomedan religion, do not fail at the same time to retain in their habits certain Hindu practices, such as [82] offering up victims on any occasion when they desire to do some work or undertake a journey. Not to be open to reproof, they do this under the title of executing justice. This happened when Aurangzeb wanted to leave Aurangābād to wage war against the Kings of Bījāpur and Gulkandah. More than six days before his march began he sent orders to kill on the route that he was about to travel eighty men, under the name of infidels and non-observers of the Mahomedan religion. He ordered them to be placed in a row with hands bound and in a kneeling position, then their heads were cut off one by one. It was observed that among them all, one dead body after six days remained on its knees as if just decapitated; the others lay on the ground at the mercy of animals. The reason that one only among so

XXV. Mīr Jumlah.

many remained upright on its knees without falling like the rest, granting that it was inflated and decayed like the others, I leave for the consideration of the reader. As for me, it seems possible to suppose that, out of fear and before they could cut off his head, this victim was stupefied at seeing the others beheaded and thus became petrified.

They also maintain some observances which have in themselves some human morality. Thus was it with the King of Balkh, called Sultān Ebraim Addam (Ibrahīm Adham),[1] who had a natural inclination to refinement. Thus, when he wished to sleep it was necessary to fill his room with flowers. Once it happened that, wishing to repose, in conformity with his usual habit, he ordered one of his women servants to knead his body. During this process it happened that he fell asleep; the servant also slumbered, and leant her head on the side of the bed. This act roused the king, and in a great rage he ordered the eunuchs to flog the said servant for her temerity in propping her head on the royal bedstead. He had no mercy for the accident, and at once the eunuchs set to work to execute the king's orders. Instead of weeping and imploring pardon, the woman was laughing. On perceiving this, the king was curious to know what motive she had for laughing, when, on the contrary, by the force and violence of the eunuchs' blows, it would seem she ought to be crying. To his question she replied that it was because he had ordered her to be beaten; for in her judgment, if to have leant her head a little moment on the royal bed, where the perfumes induced slumber, merited her undergoing such punishment even for the little time she had rested herself, what did His Majesty not deserve for having slept all his life in such a bed? Influenced by such a reproach, the king became a little thoughtful, and at once tore his raiment, renounced his queen and his son, and went off into a wild country to live as a *faqīr*. A fine reproof! for many is

[1] Ibrāhīm (son of) Adham was a king of Balkh, who became a darvesh, and died between 875 and 880 (Beale, 'Dictionary of Oriental Biography,' 171). There is a biography of him, with many anecdotes, in 'Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyā' of Farīd-ud-dīn 'Aṭṭār, edition R. A. Nicholson, 1905, pp. 85-106; but I do not find in it Manucci's story.

the one who condemns his neighbour's little failings without considering the great defects he has within himself.

Although the nature of the Hindūs is ordinarily inclined to do evil, there have not been wanting at times some who have been most humane and well provided with reason. Such was the King Biguer Magïd (Bikramajīt). Desiring to see his kingdom increase and merchants frequent the country, he directed that anything the traders could not sell during market-time should be bought by his major-domo. It happened once that a trader brought, among other rarities, an image representing Misfortune; he sold everything except this figure. The king's major-domo, following the orders received from his master, bought it and sent the merchant away. He stored the image along with the other goods, and reported the matter to the king.

Being superstitious, the king did not fail to be affected by such a purchase. However, he said nothing about it. He cared more about keeping his word than about the supertitious presentiments aroused in him by the purchase. The Hindūs assert, as a moral and politic lesson, that the figure of Wealth appeared to the king and complained to him that she could no longer stay, being unable to dwell where [83] Misfortune was. After much discussion, the king agreed that Wealth might withdraw herself, rather than that he should break his word. On her departing, she menaced him with a thousand disagreeables and losses; and to all these the king subjected himself rather than break his word.

Then came Victory, and after using the same argument as Wealth, took her leave, the king still remaining constant to the same opinion. Finally, as they tell the story, Faith appeared to him, and, making complaint, prepared to depart like the rest. To this the king would not agree, but embraced her firmly, nor would he on any account permit her to go. Thus the Hindūs say that, after many combats with Faith, she was overcome by the king's insistence and remained. With her came Wealth, Victory, and all other good things. This is a fine apologue to teach us that everything may be abandoned—

Wealth and Prosperity—but Faith never; for where she is, everything else is naturally attracted also. From this the reader can recognise that these Hindūs, granting their blindness in their errors, are not devoid of some of the principles and foundations of morality.

[Pp. 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, and 89 are blank. On p. 90 the text is continued in French.]

END OF VOL. II.

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